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The Church and State Conflict in Mexico

The controversy raging in Mexico between the Government and the Roman Catholic Church has become more acute. CURRENT HISTORY, in order to record impartially the significance of this historic conflict, invited contributions on the subject from the three interests concerned. Archbishop Curley, who was active in behalf of the Catholics in the Congressional investigation, was invited to present the Catholic point of view or name some one qualified to do so; he recommended Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, a distinguished Catholic layman, whose contribution leads the symposium in this issue. Bishop James Cannon Jr. of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, who has had supervision of the work of that church in Mexico for the past eight years, was asked to present the Protestant view. Senor Tellez, the Mexican Ambassador to the United States, was asked to give the official view of his Government.—Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.

I.—The American Catholic View

By CONSTANTINE E. MCGUIRE

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PROBABLY no spokesman for the anti-religious bloc in Mexico in the last decade has stated its views with greater succinctness than Luis Cabrera, foremost draftsman of the Constitution of 1917, in his address late that year at Philadelphia, before the American Academy of Political and Social Science:

Properly speaking, Mexico has no religious problem. The Spanish system of patronage which was extended to the Catholic Church by the Spanish kings, gave an almighty temporal power to the clergy, which lasted up to 1860. In this

year owing to the Laws of Reform, the Church was dispossessed of its property, incapacitated to acquire real estate, and deprived of temporal power.

During the long Government of General Diaz, the Catholic clergy, creeping on from point to point, in concealed form, recovered much of its temporal power and rebuilt part of its fortune. At present some members of the Catholic clergy have a tendency to recover the temporal power which the Church had enjoyed previous to 1860. The tendency of the Revolutionary Government is to render effective the absolute separation of Church from State and to prevent the Mexican

clergy from recovering its temporal power, leaving it, however, in the most absolute liberty as regards religious matters.

[This quotation is taken from the reprint of his address issued (undated) in 1917 or 1918, by the Carranza publicity office in New York known as the "Latin-American News Association."]

The "almighty temporal power of the clergy" is the central thesis of anti-Catholic agitators in the American republics generally; and every attack on the Catholic Church in Mexico rests on this indictment as its main support. For seventy years every legislative device that could be availed of has been aimed at the impairment of the Catholic Church in Mexico, always with the two-fold assertion that the clergy were interfering in temporal affairs, and that "absolute liberty as regards religious matters" would not be affected. These assertions are unqualifiedly false, and the men who have been making them in Mexico know and have known them to be false. It should be added here, to be sure, that some of the persons in the United States who have felt themselves called upon to repeat these assertions in this country have known no better, and even may be said to have no graver culpability than that which attaches to people who spread what they themselves have complacently accepted and believe, because, like the Gauls whom Caesar described, they like to believe it.

Certain considerations, I hold, are ample to warrant the rejection of the indictment of the Catholic Church brought by the whole tribe of Mexican dictators from Benito Juárez to Plutarco Elías Calles, an indictment never fairly brought to trial before the Mexican people in all these years, but forthwith made the basis of condemnation and execution. It should be made plain from the outset that I write as a student of the historical and economico-social development of the Latin and Indo-Latin peoples, and not as a qualified spokesman for the Catholic Church in Mexico, and that, if I write at all, it is because of the profound and widespread misrepresentation of the subject in this country, and because, as a citizen of the United States and a member of the Catholic Church, I propose to acquiesce neither in the endorsement of a fraudulent indictment

in Mexico by Liberals and Progressives in this country nor in any discrimination by our Federal Government in the exercise of the virtual suzerainty over Mexico which we acquired by the Executive Order issued in the early days of January, 1924, granting large stores of munitions of war from the public property of the War Department to Generals Obregón and Calles.

The considerations which I advance may be most compactly presented as answers to the questions that might naturally occur to any person seriously concerning himself with this question for the first time. What are the charges in this hypothetical trial and what answer could the defendant make to them? By whom are the charges made, and why, and what procedure has so far been followed in trying the issues?

QUESTION OF ILLITERACY

The charges, as was said in the beginning, are to the effect that the Catholic Church acquired and abused vast temporal powers in Mexico. The charges are categorical and unsupported by specific examples. The following statement (also taken from the above-cited address of Luis Cabrera) is typical of the sweeping character of the charges, without responsible and trustworthy supporting data:

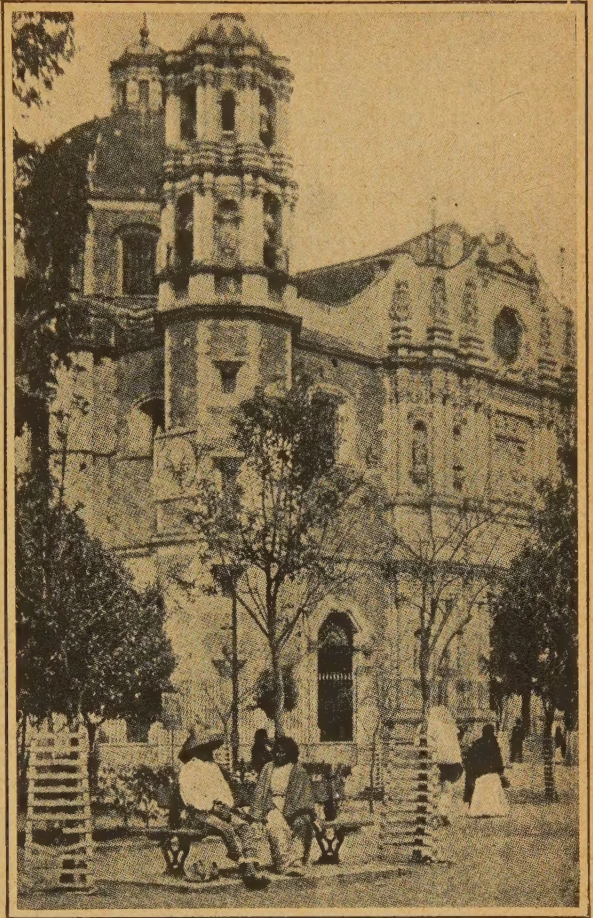
The best proof of the failure of the Catholic Church as an educator of the Indians is that after the Church has had four hundred years of absolute dominion in educational matters we still have 80 per cent. of illiterates in Mexico.

It is a well-known principle of logic that an assertion categorically advanced may be categorically denied. If those who undertake to justify religious persecution in Mexico have no better footing than brazen and general misrepresentation of the past, their charges can be dismissed for lack of evidence. Nor will it avail them anything to resort to sonorous citations from the *Recopilación de las Indias* or the *Siete Partidas*, for that matter—citations ludicrously irrelevant and inappropriate for all their appearance of juristic learning, like the recent Mexican official utterances on the subject of the national domain and related legal institutions.

True it is that for two centuries—and not four, as Cabrera and his like assert—the

clergy had many responsibilities other than those relating directly to religious worship and their own support. Until the eighteenth century education was provided practically everywhere in consequence of the initiative of individuals or of religious bodies (representative of society in one of its principal aspects), and it was the Church in Mexico that made available whatever means for education were to be had down to the end of the Colonial period. Thereafter, for half a century, such educational organization as existed in rural communities, and among the Indians, was provided exclusively under Church auspices. All organized charitable work, likewise, was carried on by the Church down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and again, most of whatever charity has managed to find expression in a century of anti-religious government has been administered under the auspices of the Catholic Church. That she bore, and sought to fulfill, the requirements of these responsibilities the Church in Mexico will unhesitatingly admit; and she can point to a remarkable record in just this connection, even if the descendants of some of those who received their introduction to European and Christian civilization, through her efforts, manifest an astonishing malevolence toward her today. When Joel Poinsett, the first Minister from the Government of the United States to Mexico, traveled through Mexico, he reported that he found schools in even the smallest towns; and the illiteracy must in that day have been considerably less than the 80 per cent. reported by Cabrera to exist after sixty years of absolute dominion on the part of Mexican Liberalism and Revolution, for Poinsett commented upon the widespread ability to read, and interest in reading the very numerous local newspapers of his day.

When the Public Latin School of Boston was established, analogous institutions in Mexico had already passed their golden



Shrine of Guadalupe, Mexico City

jubilees. Let those who are interested in secondary and higher education for girls and women look up the early history of the Catholic Church in Mexico in this regard. Before the Colonial period ended the Catholic Church had established in Mexico two universities, each with well-rounded professional schools, thirty colleges, and some hundreds of elementary schools. The Mexican State has not equaled this record, even in the two generations that have elapsed since Porfirio Díaz established himself as ruler, but despite the recession in educational standards, the decay and corruption of the overcentralized school system, the Government could lavish several million pesos upon solid gold ornaments for the patio of its pretentious Secretariat of Pub-

lic Instruction erected a few years ago.

So much for the Colonial and post-revolutionary activities of the Church in the field of education. And as for the "abuse of temporal power" by the Church, one will search in vain for a single example of the exercise (much less abuse) of what we generally call temporal power, by the Catholic Church in Mexico for over a century. Indeed, one will search with little success for an instance of the successful defense of equitably acquired and constructively employed rights and interests.

USE OF CHURCH FUNDS

The Catholic Church in Mexico possessed property, tangible and intangible, other than the Church edifices themselves, at the end of the eighteenth century, which was dedicated to the upkeep of charitable and educational establishments, as well as to the support of religious worship, having a value in the neighborhood of perhaps \$60,000,000 (estimated on the basis of the 1926 purchasing power of the dollar). The money in the possession of the Church was lent freely, especially to farmers, and at very low interest rates; and when it was confiscated, the loudest complaint came from the farmers. The latter, indeed, succeeded in bringing about the suspension of the order putting this confiscation into effect. The order had been issued by Charles IV of Spain, in accordance with the then popular theories of Campomanes and Jovellanos, who were bent on destroying what had been the chief source of help for agricultural development in the Spanish-speaking world, with the vaguest and least practical ideas imaginable as to what would take its place. About one-fifth of the Church funds were seized in 1804-5, but before long the balance was heavily invaded by forced loans to various administrations in Mexico, and in 1856 the bulk of the funds was formally seized. By 1861 hospitals, asylums and all charitable endowments were taken over by the State.

In spite of the wholesale seizure of the means accumulated through two centuries of unrelenting pioneer development, the Church attempted to go on with its work among the poor of the large cities and among the rural and tribal population.

Within two decades after the so-called Reform Laws, a number of new colleges were opened, several of them in wholly Indian areas, and a new system of elementary schools was built up. Hospitals and modest homes for orphans and the aged were established, according as means to found them could be scraped together, and the decimated ranks of the sisterhoods replenished.

The extent to which the Catholic Church sought to develop a constructive program for the uplift, moral, social and economic, of the Indian and Indo-Latin population may be gauged from the enthusiasm which attended the "Catholic Conferences," the first of which took place in Puebla in 1902, the second in Morelia two years later, the third at Guadalajara in 1906 and the last at Oaxaca in 1908. A fifth conference was to have occurred at León in 1910, but the beginning of the revolution in that year caused its postponement. At these gatherings, whose proceedings form substantial volumes, the ablest jurists, economists and agricultural experts of the non-ecclesiastical world joined with the hierarchy in examining plans for the better organization and social stimulation of the Mexican population. The latest discussions of analogous topics in Europe and this country were followed in these great meetings, and in *Semanas Agrícolas* (conferences on agricultural problems), inaugurated in 1906 by Archbishop Mora y del Río of Mexico City, out of which grew agricultural loan and credit banks, organized according to the most approved European models. The urban worker was not neglected in this half century of reconstruction that preceded the period of disintegration which has settled down over Mexico since 1910. One could cite many scores of bishops and priests whose whole lives were devoted to the amelioration of the lot of unorganized, or poorly organized, labor in Mexico. The first union of boot and shoe workers in Mexico was organized and guided by Father Daniel Galván, whom one of Carranza's freebooters shot down in cold blood for administering the last sacraments to civilian victims of the Revolution.

It would be difficult to compress into the pages of an entire issue of this maga-

zine the unadorned narrative of the contribution to Mexican civilization that the Catholic Church has made through the decades of spoliation and misrepresentation. The Church arrived in Mexico contemporaneously with the representatives of the Spanish Crown, and the record of her effort to guide and shape the activities of the secular power so as to raise to a lofty level of Christian standards the tangled ruin of decadent culture that she found there has been recorded, not only by her own erudite sons from the sixteenth century to the twentieth,* but by a number of eminent non-Catholic historians, and by none better than Professor Roger B. Merriam, whose "Rise of the Spanish Empire" (in three volumes, New York, 1922-1925) brings the story of this conflict of the Church and State so far to the end of the reign of Philip II. It is a strange fact that the Catholic Church has had nothing but mortification and distress whenever and wherever her hierarchy has entered into contractual relations with secular Governments, which she might well expect long to outlive. The conflict of Church and State has been a perennial result of the repudiation of contracts (not always in the form of concordats, be it observed) by Governments which have replaced those which had solemnly assumed the obligations and rights arising from those contracts.

CENTURY OF PERSECUTION

For more than one hundred years the Church has been harassed and on the defensive in Mexico, and for seventy years she has been suffering one degree of proscription after another, culminating in the monstrous provisions of what is called the Constitution of 1917. Under the most savage provocation, she has not fought back, but trusted wholly in the Will of God. In fact, some of her sons in other countries occasionally have a feeling that it would have been well if their fellow-Catholics in Mexico had resisted this persecution as if her preservation depended upon them

alone. Certainly, we of the Catholic Church in this country, minority and all as we are, would never have put up with one-fiftieth part of the injustice and indignity which the Church has had to suffer in Mexico. And yet, it will be remarked, the majority of the Mexican population are Catholics. How does it come to pass that they tolerate this?

Here we touch a situation that exists in various European and some American countries. The Church was persecuted for centuries after its establishment; then came centuries of freedom from direct persecution, but of endless interference and the interpenetration of the Church and the State. By the end of the sixteenth century the Church was a department of government in many Catholic countries, just as in all Protestant and orthodox countries the respective religious bodies were parts of the State. The free, vigorous life of the Church, clear of all association with the State, which we know in this country since the adoption of our Constitution, is a concept difficult for Europeans (continental or insular) and Latin Americans to develop. The almost fatalistic acceptance of whatever fortunes may overtake the Church by virtue of its inheritance of subjection to secular control which characterizes European and Latin American Catholics is a difficult thing to comprehend, all the more since they bitterly deplore the injustice and mischief involved and perceive the social decay it precipitates.

In Latin countries there is no rational economic progressivism outside of the Catholic Church, but there is a great deal of loud-mouthed and uninformed economic radicalism. The leaders of this movement of revolt are usually professional men whose associations have led them to attack the conservative classes—middle or well to do—and all that the latter respect; and they aim to incite the propertyless against those who possess whatever modicum of property. So it comes about that a handful of military tyros, briefless lawyers and other professional men ride into power on successive waves of revolt of the "dispossessed" against the "possessors." Once in control of the machinery of legislation and the army, they exact whatever they please to enrich themselves. The dictators of Mex-

*The charge that the Catholic Church obliterated the records of Aztec culture may now be disposed of by calling attention to the survival after all of the original Mexican text of the Aztec history of Bernardino de Sahagún, now being brought out in Berlin, which we owe to the devotion and scholarship of the late Professor Seier (details regarding which may be secured from Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University).

ico, Guatemala and other countries have accumulated great fortunes often by the process of wholesale seizure of Church and other private property. Their enactments have been borne until the stage of misgovernment and corruption provoked a new revolution; and then new laws, or even new "constitutions."

Nearly sixty years ago, according to Matías Romero, a former Foreign Minister of Mexico, Benito Juárez tried to establish officially certain branches of the Protestant Church in Mexico. ("Mexico and the United States," New York, 1898, p. 96.) Ever since that time there have been found persons in this country anxious to encourage extreme policies of anti-Catholic groups in Mexico; and the record of Mexican legislation in Church matters is hardly known, in consequence of the "good press" that legislation has enjoyed here. Proving nothing of their charges against the Church, the Mexican anti-Catholic dictators have cynically arrogated to themselves complete authority in religious matters. They have confiscated property, dissolved religious orders, forbidden religious worship outside of the Church edifices, forbidden the wearing of distinctive garb, prohibited donations and collections—all this before 1875.

Since 1875 the anti-Catholic dictators have set up, with State funds, scurrilous and anti-Catholic newspapers; they have imposed fantastic fines on congregations as the price of allowing the churches to remain open; they have looted altars and smuggled stolen altar vessels across our border to be sold as old metal; they have burned more libraries than were destroyed in the 'Thirty Years' War. Finally, in the so-called Constitution of 1917, they have forbidden confession under pain of death, transformed churches into stables and barracks, compelled churches to remain closed except for a few hours on Sunday, deprived the clergy of the franchise, suppressed religious instruction of any sort, characterized as unlawful any criticism of these laws, and they have denied the right of trial by jury to any person accused of violating any of these laws!

"The law may not imperil the life of the nation," remarked Aristotle (*Politics*, iii) long ago, and no Constitution or legislation that stifles the religious aspirations of

a people will survive—all the more so when, as in the case of Mexico most of the legislation is invalid even according to the procedural requirements of the National Congress itself, and where the Constitution, as in the case of the Mexican Constitution of 1917, had no national sanction.

Twice since 1917 the Mexican Government has given explicit assurances to the Government of the United States that anti-Catholic policies would not be revived, and on one occasion Obregon sent a plenipotentiary to Cardinal Gibbons to give him the same assurances. When at the end of 1923 our present Administration took the law into its own hands and sold arms (if the transaction was ever terminated by a full payment, which one might query) to the Obregon Government, simultaneously *prohibiting* their sale to de la Huerta, we acquired a virtual suzerainty over Mexico. I do not intend to take the merits of that issue up here; but I say with the utmost emphasis that this suzerainty shall not be given effect at all, if it is to be so exercised merely to benefit investment interests, and not at the same time to compel the respect of the elementary principles of justice in our "mandated" state. Nor will the ill-concealed approval of the Calles régime by the American Federation of Labor or by Progressives in Congress pass unchallenged. Just as good Progressives and labor sympathizers as any of the professionals of either category have not forgotten that neither of the latter could be aroused to protest against the unconstitutional and unsound sale of arms to Mexico in January, 1924—an evil precedent for a country which was to take so large a part in the Geneva arms traffic conference of May, 1925. The failure of professional Progressives and labor men to comprehend, even now, the sinister connections between the Calles clique and the great investment interests here, up to the time of their quarrel fifteen months ago,* robs them of any title to furnish the country with its sadly needed guidance in this connection.

*On the merits of this quarrel there is no occasion to enter here. It is a complicated problem, proper solution of which, as was pointed out by the eminent French economist, R.-G. Lévy, in some discerning comment in a recent issue of the *Journal des Economistes*, becomes more and more difficult because of the rapid increase in the capitalistic preponderance of the United States in this hemisphere.

II.—The American Protestant View

By JAMES CANNON JR.

Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, who has had supervision of the work of that church in Mexico for the past eight years

THE two outstanding deliverances concerning the present relationship of Church and State in Mexico are the Apostolic letter from Pope Pius XI, the final authority of the Roman Catholic Church, to the Archbishop of Mexico City and other bishops in Mexico, and the statement by President Calles, the head of civil authority in Mexico. The Apostolic letter bears the date of Feb. 2, 1926, although it was not made public in Rome until April 19. The statement of President Calles was issued in Mexico City on Feb. 24 and published in the press of the United States and Mexico on the following day.

The Apostolic letter denounces in strong, bitter terms the present Government, statute laws, and even the Constitution of Mexico. Referring to the bishops it says:

We realize that you were beset by such afflictions as certainly *bring shame* to a people totally Catholic, and who at the same time make up a civil society, cultured and adorned with all the arts of civilization. [All italics mine.]

Concerning laws the Apostolic letter says:

It is scarcely necessary for us to tell you how *wicked* are the regulations and laws invoked against the Catholic citizens of Mexico which have been sanctioned by officials *hostile to the Church*, and which by their enforcement long have *oppressed* you. You are fully aware that these laws are *far from being reasonable laws, nor are they useful and necessary for the common good as assuredly all laws should be. On the contrary, they do not seem to merit even the name of laws.* Indeed, we are moved all the more insistently to utter this public protest and condemnation of such laws, seeing that day after day the warfare against the *Catholic religion* is being waged more bitterly by the rulers of the Republic.

Then referring to the declared purpose of the present Government to enforce these "wicked regulations and laws" the Apostolic letter says:

Then they turn themselves to the *false* argu-

ment of the necessity of their protecting the Republic in order that they may justify the happenings which take place in your country to the detriment of the Catholic citizens. Day after day these *hostile* laws and regulations are more bitterly enforced, and if this continues the *common rights of citizenship* will be automatically denied Catholics, and the functions and ministry of the Christian religion itself will die.

The latter part of the Apostolic letter "*is an especial advice and command*" that the bishops develop "united Catholic action." What is meant by "united Catholic action" is not clearly defined, for while the Apostolic letter declares that "all Catholics of the Republic of Mexico are forbidden, as such, to establish any political party under the name of Catholic," and while, "above all, bishops and priests, in keeping with *their praiseworthy record of the past*, must not become members of any political party, nor write for the journals of any political faction," the letter in the following paragraph emphatically declares that

the faithful * * * cannot be forbidden to exercise those civic rights and duties which they have in common with all other citizens. In fact, their very faith and the common welfare of religion and country require that they make the best use of such rights and duties. Even the clergy cannot refrain altogether from an interest in civic affairs, or put aside completely all care and solicitude for the things of public life. Indeed, although holding themselves studiously aloof from any attachment to any party, they ought in keeping with their priestly office, and safeguarding the sacredness of their ministry, to promote the welfare of their country by diligent and religious exercise of their civil rights and duties, and by setting a good example which the faithful can follow so that each one of them will studiously comply with their public obligations as the laws of God and the Church demand.

If the "especial advice and command" is for "united Catholic action" in civic affairs, what is that but a Catholic party acting in civic affairs, whether it be called a Catholic party action or "united Catholic action"? Certainly if the Apostolic

letter has any meaning it is a positive command by the Pope for "united action" in civic affairs by the Roman Catholics of Mexico.

THE CHURCH'S RECORD

It must be agreed that, if they are taken apart from their historical setting, some of the laws referred to in the Apostolic letter are unusual and drastic. But that very fact compels a careful examination of the reasons therefor. Those reasons will be found in the open "record" of the activities of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Mexico during the past 400 years, which the Pope declares to have been a "praiseworthy (?) record." What are the facts?

For 350 years the Mexican people lived under the practically unrestrained domination of Roman Catholicism. That Church had it within its power to write the history of Mexico as it would, and in fact did write it. The Church had the opportunity to show what it could do with a good native stock in a country with unlimited natural resources. It could have taught the Indians to read and write; to build comfortable, clean, sanitary houses; it could have preached the gospel of truth, honesty, chastity and set an example of high moral Christian conduct; it could have developed a "civil society, cultured and adorned with all the arts of civilization."

It did none of these things.

It did build great and beautiful cathedrals and lavished millions of money on the decoration of them and upon the shrines, images, altars and vestments therein. It did multiply costly churches throughout the country, in some sections one for each great estate. It did develop over one thousand parishes with over twenty thousand ecclesiastics, over two hundred and fifty convents and monasteries, with over eight thousand inmates vowed to celibacy, over one hundred and fifty missions and eighteen male and twenty female orders. It did accumulate a vast amount of property, so that at the time of Juarez in 1857 it was conservatively estimated that the Church controlled over one-third of the material assets of the country, lands, houses, mortgages, and so

forth. It did interfere continually, arrogantly, influentially and disastrously in the political affairs of the nation. The Church did manifest great activity and power in these things.

Although the Church, backed by the power of the Spanish Government, did compel the Indians to accept baptism, it did not teach them the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity. As in many other countries the Church willfully kept the great mass of the people in ignorance, in poverty and under the thrall of degrading superstitions. Indeed, the so-called Christianity of the Mexican peons was little more than a veneered paganism. In 1910, when the Mexican people rose up in desperation and broke the yoke of Spanish tyranny, they were poor, half-starved and ignorant. At that time not 1 per cent. of the people could read and write. The leaders of that movement for independence were determined to better the condition of the people, to educate them and to give them a share in the land which was held largely by foreigners and the Church.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy, controlled entirely by the foreign priesthood, not only did not aid the movement to secure better conditions for the Mexican people, but encouraged, if it did not initiate, the reactionary movements under Iturbide and Santa Ana, and openly, with desperation, fought Juarez and all his reform laws. Finally, when Juarez realized that there could be no free government in Mexico until clerical interference and domination were overthrown and incorporated in the Constitution of 1857 the epoch-making provisions stripping the Church of its ill-gotten wealth and abolishing religious orders, convents and monasteries, the Vatican itself, as today, joined in the conflict and was an active participant in the conspiracy to place the Habsburg Archduke Maximilian upon the throne of Mexico as Emperor, and the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Mexico were Maximilian's most ardent supporters. Maximilian was shot and Carlotta lost her reason, but the plotters of the Vatican could not be reached to be punished. Concerning the situation at that time Bancroft, the historian, has said:

BANCROFT'S TESTIMONY

The clergy systematically opposed the Government; were hostile to religious toleration, freedom of thought and to a free expression of the press; they objected strenuously to equality before the law; they made war against civil marriages and registrations; opposed foreign colonization and public or any other education, unless it was wholly under ecclesiastical control; they demanded every aid and support from the laws and Government, and yet disallowed all subjection or responsibilities to them; they had large pecuniary resources which they used freely to accomplish their end, constantly availing themselves likewise of the low elements of ignorance and superstition. When the Federal Constitution was adopted in 1857 the Church forbade the people from taking oath to support it, on the ground that it contained articles hostile to their religion and the Church, such as the article establishing freedom of public instruction; the article proclaiming man's inalienable right of freedom, which was not to be curtailed by reason of labor, education or monastic vows; the article on free speech and free press; the article declaring civil and ecclesiastical corporations incompetent to hold or to administer real estate, and finally because it omitted to designate the Roman Catholic Church as the Church of the State.

When Juarez returned to power after the execution of Maximilian and during the term of office of President Tejeda and the earlier years of President Diaz's Administration, the ecclesiastical laws were upheld fairly well. Under the protection of the Constitution, beginning about 1870, despite continued and bitter Roman Catholic opposition, several Protestant churches began mission work in Mexico, numerous schools were opened, a higher educational standard was set, and illiteracy was cut down to about 80 per cent. The rule of General Diaz, however, gradually assumed the form of a dictatorship; the Government was carried on in the interest of a small minority, and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, under the leadership of its foreign priesthood, under the patronage of Senora Diaz, gradually crept back into a position of privilege and power. Although the Constitution of 1857 had nationalized all of the then existing Church property, the laws of 1874 permitted the Church to acquire and to hold properties necessary to carry on its work, and this privilege had been taken advantage of by the Church

to the extreme limit, President Diaz raising no objection.

When Madero and his followers started the revolution of 1911 to secure more freedom and better living conditions for the people, the Roman Catholic leaders opposed it, and after the assassination of Madero supported the usurper Huerta until his overthrow by Carranza. It was this continuous "record"—not "praiseworthy," as Pope Pius asserts, but shameful—of the active hostility of the clergy to the republican form of government for over a hundred years, and the efforts of the clergy to use its tremendous power over the ignorant, superstitious people, and to teach the children in the schools that the Government was not approved by the Pope and therefore must be opposed by all faithful Catholics that impelled the framers of the present Constitution to add to the provisions of 1857 the more drastic provisions of 1917.

These laws, which Pope Pius so bitterly denounces, are frankly intended to prevent the accumulation by the Church of any property of its own, or the control of any property, except for strictly religious purposes, or in the name of any individual. To prevent a priest from using his supposed power over Purgatory, Hell and Heaven to secure property for the Church from those about to die, as had been done in Mexico and elsewhere, the law provides that a priest cannot receive any property by will except from a blood relative within the fourth degree. To rid the country of the domination or influence of foreign priests who have too often been simply parasites, the law declares that only a Mexican by birth can exercise the ministry in Mexico, and it gives to the State the authority to determine the number of ministers permitted to exercise the ministry in any State. No religious body or minister of any religious sect is allowed to establish or direct schools for primary education; no members of religious orders can wear a garb indicative of his calling; no religious ceremonies can be held anywhere except in church buildings. Ministers are forbidden to criticize the civil laws or authorities, to vote, to hold office or to participate in assemblies for religious purposes. Periodical publications of a re-

ligious character may not comment on political affairs. No meeting of a political character may be held in the churches. Marriage is a civil contract, although a religious ceremony may follow.

Ordinarily some of these restrictions would not simply be unusual. They would be un-Christian if not anti-Christian, if interpreted to be a prohibition against the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and against giving religious instruction to children. The loyal followers of Jesus Christ will not agree that any secular government has a right to forbid any Christian to preach the gospel or to teach religion to young and old, and the Holy Catholic (not Roman) Church has maintained this right from the days of the Apostles down through the centuries to Huss and Wycliff, Luther and Wesley, in the face of the denial of this right, and of bitter opposition and persecution, much of it at the hands of the Roman Catholic hierarchy which is now crying so loudly against Mexican persecution.

RELIGIOUS EXERCISES UNHAMPERED

The purpose of the Mexican Government has not been and is not today to prevent any one from preaching or from giving religious instruction to children. It has not attempted to prevent the Church from controlling whatever amount of property is necessary for its *legitimate spiritual* activities. The purpose of the Mexican Constitution is not to limit in any way the *spiritual* activities of the Church. The great purpose of the Constitution, of the laws and regulations and of the Government of Mexico is to uproot clericalism, to prevent forever the accumulation by the Church of unnecessary wealth, and particularly to prevent the participation in political activities and the domination of the Government by the Church and especially by the foreign priesthood.

The question of Church and State in Mexico today must be considered in the light of over four centuries of Roman Catholic failure in Mexico, of its refusal to accept the Constitution of 1857, and of its present day determination, as expressed by Pope Pius XI himself, to nullify the present Constitution by "united Catholic action." The Apostolic letter is dated Feb.

2, 1926. It refers to a public declaration by the Pope in similar vein in December, 1925, in which he appealed for the same "united Catholic action" as a remedy for certain prevailing ills. This Apostolic letter would hardly have been prepared without previous correspondence or conference between the Vatican and the Mexican bishops, and it can be assumed that the Mexican bishops were apprised that a letter was in preparation and as to the general tenor of it. Such a sweeping denunciation of the Mexican laws by the head of the Church must necessarily carry great weight with those who regard the Pope as one clothed with authority to speak concerning both secular and religious affairs. The knowledge of this attitude of the Pope and of the approaching letter might very properly account for the disobedience and increased political activities of the Roman Catholic clergy in Mexico.

Within the past few days (May 29) Bishop Zarate has been tried for issuing a pastoral letter denouncing certain clauses of the Mexican Constitution. This is a direct violation of the Constitution, which forbids all ministers of religion to criticize the laws or officials of the country. The apostolic letter was an "advice and a command" to Bishop Zarate and all the Mexican bishops to do what the Constitution of the country forbids them to do. He made his choice and decided to obey the Pope and to defy the Constitution and the Government. This is doubtless the action which the Pope expected and desired to follow from the apostolic letter.

There is nothing in President Calles's statement to indicate whether he knew that the Pope had issued the Apostolic letter, but the belated publication of the Apostolic letter does prove that President Calles recognized that there were powerful influences at work to discredit and to attempt to overthrow the Mexican Government, and his statement is a clear-cut appropriate answer, indeed a warning to the clerical conspirators from the Pope down.

President Calles's letter appeared on Feb. 24. * It dealt specifically with the expulsion of foreign priests and the closing of primary schools which were conducted

by priests or clergy or nuns, or in which religious instruction was being given. After calling attention to the provisions of the Mexican Constitution on these two points President Calles declared:

The foreign priests whose presence in Mexico is no longer being tolerated had received warnings on various occasions from the Department of the Interior to cease exercising their ministry and dedicate themselves to some other activity if they were desirous of remaining in this country. Without paying any attention to these notifications the priests to whom I refer continued exercising their ministry in violation of Article 130 of the Constitution. In addition almost all of them were violating Article 3, which provides "that no religious corporation or minister of any cult will be permitted to establish or superintend primary schools."

Again President Calles declares:

Even if the recent public display of disobedience and opposition to the fundamental laws of the country by the head of the Mexican Catholic Church had not been made, this Government in complying with its duty to observe and cause to be observed the Constitution of the country would have proceeded in the manner it has, if these concrete cases had come to its attention. But it is easily understood in view of the history of our country and the painful consequences Mexico has experienced through the intrusion of the Catholic clergy into the specific development of the National Institution, of which it has been the traditional enemy, that corrective steps should be taken. It was specially necessary in view of the possibility of new intrusion of the Mexican Catholic clergy in matters of temporal character to insure the exclusion of foreign elements not allowed as ministers of religion by the Constitution, since these elements precisely, because of being foreigners, could import to the indicated problem only more serious and difficult characteristics.

REASONS FOR DISCRIMINATION

In stressing the fact that there has been no religious persecution of any church or any sentiment of animosity toward any foreigner, President Calles frankly states in clear-cut language the reason for the discriminations made by the Mexican Government between the activities of the foreign Roman Catholic clergy and the foreign ministers of other cults:

In contrast to the attitude of the expelled priests there have been numerous ministers of other cults who have obeyed the constitutional provisions. They have dedicated themselves to other legal activities, such as teaching in secondary schools or to orienting or superintending suitable activities of their church, but without exercising their office

in ritualistic acts and leaving to the Mexican ministers the performance of the strictly confessional work of their religion. These ministers have not been and will not be molested. * * * Almost without exception the American ministers of confessional churches which are not Catholic adjust themselves while residing in Mexico to what the law demands. For this reason they are not molested, thus bringing about development and prosperity of their churches through the work of Mexican ministers, and living tranquilly and respected among us, merely performing acts of religion.

It will be noted that President Calles makes a clear-cut distinction between "ritualistic acts" and "the strictly confessional work of their religion" on the one hand, and "merely performing acts of religion" on the other, and this distinction is justified from a political viewpoint. Prayer, singing, teaching, exhorting (purely acts of religion) are not the weapons used by Roman Catholicism in the accomplishment of its political purposes. Confession, absolution, penance, the mass, extreme unction, the power over Purgatory and Hell and Heaven—these "ritualistic acts" have been its weapons in controlling the activities of its followers and in securing large political power and great properties for the Church in every country and in every age. The Mexican Constitution does not forbid the performance of "ritualistic acts" by Mexicans, but only by foreign priests, holding that experience has demonstrated that this discrimination is justifiable; that while foreign priests will be dominated entirely by the Vatican and think of Mexico simply as a province of the Church, as in the past, the Mexican priests will be so influenced by love of country and the views of their friends and kindred that they will prefer to cooperate with the Government in its efforts to develop the country and advance the prosperity and enlightenment of the people.

The declaration of President Calles that the Protestant workers in Mexico "have not been molested and will not be molested" is another discrimination openly and frankly made which is also justified by the facts. Protestant ministers have not engaged in any political activities, have not tried to overturn the Government and repeal the Constitution, but have realized the purpose

of the Government and have recognized the duty of the Government to protect the country from a perpetuation or a reinstatement of Roman Catholic domination, with its consequent degeneracy.

The effort which has been made by Roman Catholics to link up Protestantism with its attack on the Mexican Government has been so far an utter dismal failure. Protestantism has no faith in such pleas for "religious liberty." Whenever and wherever the Vatican has had the power it has permitted no freedom of worship. It did not permit it in Mexico, Cuba, or in South American countries as long as it could prevent it. It endeavors today to stifle all Protestant efforts in Spain, Poland, Italy, Rumania and indeed everywhere else. It is in so doing perfectly consistent with its exclusive claims. But it cannot secure support from Protestantism in its efforts to compel the Mexican Government to give to the hierarchy its old position of domination over the people under threat of present pain and future damnation. It is even possible that Protestantism for the ultimate good of Mexico may decide that, although it can never agree that any human government or agency has the right to restrict the simple preaching of the Gospel entirely free from political activities, yet it may hold that right in abeyance rather than seriously embarrass the Mexican Government in its present life and death struggle to free the country from clerical domination of the people. Certainly the present-day situation in Italy, Spain, Poland and other countries is sufficient proof that nothing would be more hurtful to Protestant aims and ac-

tivities and to religious liberty in Mexico than a victory for the Roman Catholic hierarchy led by the Vatican in the present conflict. Although there is no certainty that the Government will be obliged to take such steps, yet it is possible that it may be necessary for the present distress to prohibit religious activities of any kind by the Protestant missionaries, not because the Government believes those activities will be hurtful, but because Roman Catholic clamor for a technically consistent enforcement of the Constitution may require it.

Perhaps the most significant fact for citizens of the United States which has developed in this matter is the open effort which has been made by Roman Catholics in the United States in response to the Apostolic letter to compel the Government of the United States to aid the Vatican in the accomplishment of its designs upon Mexico by demanding, not only in the press but in the Congress of the United States, actual intervention in Mexico by the United States Government to secure again for the Church the position and power which for four centuries it so shamefully abused. The violent attacks upon the Mexican Government in both houses of Congress, culminating in demands for intervention, and the intemperate denunciation of President Coolidge by Archbishop Curley of Baltimore for entertaining a Cabinet officer of the Mexican Government are symptomatic of the tendency of the leaders of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to confuse the proper relations of Church and State, and to expect the Civil Government to be subservient to the order of the Church.

III.—The Mexican Official View

By MANUEL C. TELLEZ

Mexican Ambassador to the United States

ONE approaches the subject of Church and State in Mexico with reluctance as well as diffidence. It is well-nigh impossible to deal with it as it deserves without running the risk of being misunderstood. As a necessary preliminary, one should dispossess one's self as far as possible of the idea that the Church in Mexico can be judged by the same stan-

dards as those that prevail in other countries. In the present discussion, it is not proposed to go into the possible merits of the case on either side, but merely to present the facts as they exist in the laws of Mexico and their enforcement.

As with the land and mineral questions, the religious regulations of the new Constitution, which are now being more sys-

tematically enforced, did not have their origin therein. They are, as in the other cases referred to, merely reaffirmations and elaborations of the laws enacted under Juárez, and subsequently under Tejada, then made a part of the present fundamental law under Carranza.

One of the primary principles of the Juárez laws was protection for the practice of *all religions of whatever character*, that being a marked departure from previous conditions in this respect. This was reaffirmed in the law of Tejada, while the new Constitution repeats in even stronger terms that "every one is free to embrace the religion of his choice and to practice it, whether in public or in private, provided it does not constitute an offense punishable by law."

The taking over of *all church property* by the nation was decreed under Juárez and no change has ever been made in this respect, as also in respect to the abolition of various religious orders, nunneries, and so forth. All former church property, which at one time comprised, as has been variously stated, from one-third to one-half that of the entire Republic, *is now and has been since 1859 the property of the State and subject to its direction*, so that recent reports about the alleged "confiscation" thereof are without foundation.

The provision forbidding religious instruction in any of the establishments of the Federation, States or municipalities was enlarged upon in the new Constitution, which provides that all instruction given in public institutions shall be non-sectarian, and that primary instruction given in private institutions shall also be non-sectarian. No religious corporation or minister of any religious creed is permitted to establish or direct schools of primary instruction.

It is these laws and these provisions, enacted with what was regarded by the representatives of the people as good reason, that are being more generally enforced throughout the Republic since the establishment of complete peace.

Ever since independence from Spanish domination was achieved, there has at all times been a strong sentiment of opposition to the maintenance of priests and high church officials of foreign (Spanish) birth. A large element of adherents to the faith are of the opinion that only those of native birth should be permitted to officiate. Hence the adoption of the provision forbidding any but Mexicans by birth to officiate, as found in the Constitution of 1917, and its present general enforcement.

One thing should be borne in mind: The overwhelming majority of the Mexican people are adherents of what has always been and doubtless always will be the dominant religious faith, so far as matters of religion *per se* are concerned. So

too were the very men who adopted the laws that are now being enforced, as well as those now charged with the enforcement of all laws. Few if any of them are opposed to religion, most of all that of their own people, who have followed the same form for over four centuries. But, beginning with Juárez, the necessity for complete separation of Church and State was seen and voiced for the first time in the laws of 1857-59. Hence arose the present conditions.

It should also be remembered that the revolution against the domination of Spain which is finally realizing its full fruition was inaugurated by a priest, Hidalgo, and ably seconded by another priest, Morelos, both of whom were of Spanish birth and both of whom gave their lives for the cause



National Photo
MANUEL C. TELLEZ
Mexican Ambassador to the
United States

of freedom; they are revered by the Mexican people today just as Americans revere Washington and Lincoln.

Much is being made in certain quarters of the present enforcement of the laws regarding non-sectarian education in public and private primary institutions. The overwhelming importance and necessity for the proper education of the masses was fully recognized by the originators of the new Constitution, and a prominent position was given to the provisions in this respect. Under Church control of education for some four centuries, it is acknowledged by advocates of that system that there was from 85 to 90 per cent. of illiteracy throughout the country. It is the expressed determination of the leaders of the Government to effect a great betterment in this, as in other respects, and for that reason the most complete divorce between Church and State is insisted upon and is being ef-

fected through the administration of the laws enacted commencing with 1857 and culminating in 1917.

Nothing that has grown out of the success of the revolutionary era for the benefit of the common people has been so marked as the progress in educational lines. Many new schools have been erected in all the centres of population, while in a single year the appropriation of the Federal Government alone for school purposes was *fifteen per cent.* of the total revenue thereof. A new feature introduced under President Calles is the extension of educational facilities to the most remote regions, over 4,000 rural schools having been established, while the number is being constantly increased. It is intended that the means of education shall be placed within the reach of every child in the country, that, by the way, already being the proud boast of the State of Yucatan.

A LEGAL POINT OF VIEW—By Charles A. Frueauff

Of Frueauff, Robinson & Sloan, attorneys for the Mexican Consulate in New York City

IT is apparent from an analysis of the applicable laws that the governing powers in Mexico from earliest times, and even the previous Government exercised by Spain, recognized the necessity of limiting the ownership of property by religious bodies. An examination of the laws clearly shows that the developers of the Government felt the necessity of preventing the accumulation of large amounts of property by religious bodies in order to prevent the building up of a force which might attempt to control governmental affairs.

The Mexican Constitution of 1857 provided as follows: "No civil or ecclesiastical corporation of any character, denomination or object shall have legal capacity to acquire for itself the ownership or administration of real property, with the one exception of the buildings used immediately and directly in the service or object of the institution." It will be noted that this inhibition is to the acquisition of real estate which was at that time the large and important source of wealth. In 1873 the provision was changed, and from its change it would seem evident that the lawyers of that day

had found a means to circumvent the purpose of the original provision, and so the 1873 provision read that "no religious institution can acquire real property or mortgage loans thereon with the sole exception provided for by Article 27 of the Constitution." The inhibition against the acquisition of both real property and mortgages thereon would seem to have made an effective legal bar to the acquisition by religious institutions of large amounts of property, but it is very evident that the legal prohibitions have been ignored, and, in spite of the provisions, large amounts of property are claimed to be owned by religious institutions at the present time.

How such property could have been legally acquired is certainly not apparent. While the cited provisions begin about seventy years ago, the legal objection to such acquisition would seem to come down from almost the earliest time. As is well known, in the time of the conquerors of the new world, all the land acquired by discovery or conquest was presumed to be the property of the Spanish Crown which, from time to time, granted ownerships and

concessions in such property to the conquerors or favorites. In order that there should be a limitation against acquisition by religious bodies, however, it was provided in 1535 that the lands be divided among the discoverers and settlers and their heirs, but "let them not sell those lands to either a church or a monastery or an ecclesiastical person under penalty of losing them." Therefore, it seems quite evident that at no time was it permitted that large church ownerships could be legally acquired, and therefore the more detailed provisions and limitations contained in the Constitution of 1917 can in no way be said to be confiscatory laws. As the acquisition was contrary to law, the enforced surrender can not be confiscation. It is very evident that it was necessary that the laws be made definite and more detailed because of the previous ignoring of the general provisions.

It is impossible to analyze here all the provisions of the present Mexican Constitution regulating the holding of property by religious bodies, but the general idea is that the Federal Government has the power of control over the property used by the religious bodies. The present provisions, however, do not seem to establish any principle broader than has been the legal prohibition from time immemorial. The present provision of the Constitution (Article 27, II.) reads as follows: "The religious associations known as churches, irrespective of creed, shall in no case have legal capacity to acquire, hold or administer real property or loans made on such real property; all such real property or loans as may be at present held by the said religious associations, either on their own behalf, or through third parties, shall vest in the Nation, and any one shall have the right to denounce property so held." It will be readily seen that though the foregoing provision is more detailed and specific, it does not really enlarge the legal prohibitions of such acquisition which have existed for such an extended period. [The provision cited is supplemented by Article 130, included in the clauses printed elsewhere in these pages.]

Some critics have charged that the present Constitution is illegal on the ground that it was not voted on by the people.

The procedure adopted was that the different States sent delegates to a Constitutional Convention with power to, and which did, prepare and adopt a Constitution. It was not necessary that the action of the Convention should be subject to review by the people. Why should it have been? When a body of this kind, under capable leadership, has adopted a Constitution after careful consideration, is it not better that the result should be put into effect, rather than await the tedious and cumbersome processes of presentation for local adoption, with the extreme probability of rejection through misguidance or lack of information? It is regrettable that the same plan could not have been carried out in regard to the last constitutional convention in the State of New York. That convention, under the able leadership of such authorities on constitutional law as Elihu Root, framed a Constitution thoroughly adapted and adequate to the current needs of the people of a great State, but when that Constitution was submitted to the people for vote, its adoption became a political football and progress and economy were relegated to the background for many years.

FIGHT AGAINST RELIGIOUS CONTROL

That the State must be kept free from control by religious bodies seems to have been in the minds of the founders of the Mexican Government at all times. The present laws were adopted merely for the purpose of more definitely carrying out those provisions, and the present Government is merely enforcing the law, as all Governments should do. There were more or less fitful efforts in early times to enforce provisions against church ownership, such as in 1798, when the properties belonging to certain religious institutions were ordered sold, and again in 1808, when Joseph Napoleon abolished the Inquisition, which institution, as one of the bodies of the Church, had become so powerful financially as to lose its moral balance. This was quickly followed by the confiscation of property owned by the Inquisition. Joseph Napoleon also set the example for limiting the number of convents by a decree that one-third of the

then existing convents should be dissolved.

The forerunner of most of the present more detailed laws covering religious ownerships and activities is found not only in the old Spanish laws prior to independence, but also in the provisions of the reform laws of 1856 in regard to nationalization of property belonging to the Church. These provisions were re-enacted in the reform laws of 1874, which, in addition to prohibiting the ownership of real property and loans thereon, prohibited the carrying on of religious activities in public, and voided wills leaving property to ministers. The whole course of the legislation on this subject shows a studied effort to separate the control of the State from the Church; and the constant recurrence of the problem shows a continuous effort to gain such dominance. In order for any Government to develop, it is necessary that it be free to develop along the lines desired by its populace, free and untrammelled by the control of any particular group, whether it be religious, anti-religious, capitalistic or otherwise, and the only true advance can be brought about through the careful balancing of the different elements.

Doubtless the many revolutions and overturnings of the Governments which have occurred in Mexico, whether attributable to the ignoring of these legal limitations or not, have at least served to permit an aggressive ignoring of the legal

prohibitions. The present Government, so strongly backed by the people of Mexico, is simply trying to carry out the laws, as by oath and duty it is bound to do. The attempt of the Government is in no way a religious persecution, but merely an enforcement of the laws. In its desire to develop and educate, it has taken the position that primary education must be free from Church control. It can be free only if the schools are taken from under the direction of religious bodies giving direct religious instruction. Many of the complications have arisen because of a desire to circumvent the law. This presents no great difficulty; it is easy, for example, to turn a girls' school into a convent or a boys' school into a monastery.

The committee of representatives of different religious denominations which recently returned from Mexico, after investigation, reported that there was no persecution of religion and that the controversy was really around the question of the education of the children. The Mexican officials believe that the representatives of the Church in Mexico are advising against attendance at the schools. We in America must surely uphold any Government which is sincerely trying to educate its citizens. The number of schools being organized in Mexico bears complete proof of the sincerity of the officials in that respect.

A MEXICAN EDUCATOR'S VIEW—By Jose Miguel Bejarano

Formerly an officer of the Mexican Education Department

AN intimate knowledge of the history of Mexico and of the psychology and social evolution of the Mexican people, and the ability to divest one's self of the natural tendency to gauge Mexican problems by American standards, are to my mind essential in order to understand the situation prevailing in that country, particularly the present conflict between the Church and the people, which is nothing but the uninterrupted continuation of a state of affairs existing there since the year 1521, when the Spaniards conquered the Empire of Montezuma.

The Mexicans had their own religion,

their highly developed arts, their gods and their temples, and although some time had to elapse before a Pope decided that the conquered people were human beings and had a soul, the first step taken by the Spanish soldiers and the Spanish priests upon gaining possession of the land was to demolish the magnificent places of worship of the Mexican towns and to erect Christian churches upon the debris. The idols and the icons were destroyed, the religious monuments razed to their foundations, and the Mexicans baptized *en masse* in the name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, the Pope in Rome and the King in Spain.

Slavery prevailed, and the Mexican, used as a beast of burden, was deprived of his traditions, his habits, his language and his beliefs. He was branded with hot irons, like cattle. He was maltreated, exploited and killed by a people who claimed they were making the country safe for civilization and were substituting for paganism a religion of universal brotherhood. The guns and the swords of the Spanish soldiers captured Mexico, but as generations succeeded one another it was the missionary who kept the country under subjection.

The Church was the centre of the life of the communities and the Church controlled all the activities of the people. With forced labor, temples were erected in every village; with forced contributions they were enriched with magnificent ornamentations. The Church was the extractor of most of the gold and silver that went to Rome and to Spain—\$27,000,000 in gold in one year; \$3,000,000,000 worth of silver and other metals in three centuries. Ten per cent. of the product of the land was for the Church; the ground had to be blessed by a priest before sowing, processions and religious services were organized to pray for rain in times of drought. Baptism immediately after the birth of a child, confirmation shortly afterward, meant its consecration to the Church.

The mass in the morning, the rosary in the evening, confession, communion, extreme unction, the benediction of the grave within a Church cemetery, and responsories for the departed, kept the people well under the control of the Church even after they were dead. Even domestic animals had to be taken to church once a year to be blessed. The priest was pastor, physician, chief of police, school teacher and judge.

On Nov. 4, 1571, only fifty years after Mexico City was occupied by Cortés, the infamous tribunal of the Holy Inquisition was established in Mexico. Luis González Obregón, in *México Viejo* (Old Mexico), writes: "From that day terror began among the good inhabitants. * * * Fear swept over all. * * * No one lived at ease; secret denunciation threatened every one; unfortunate was he who gave grounds for the least suspicion, and unhappy was he who

merely neglected to wear a rosary." In one day alone, on April 11, 1649, 107 persons were burned alive or tortured to death by the Inquisition in Mexico, most of them simply because they were accused of professing the Jewish religion.

Under this system the masses in Mexico degenerated into a condition of the utmost fanaticism and bigotry at the same time that the Church developed into the most powerful force in the country. The civil authorities had to submit to the clergy, who possessed practically all the wealth in the land and who controlled the conscience of the people. Mexico became independent because the rebellion was started by a confabulation between priests and disloyal military officers; otherwise the power of the Church would have crushed the movement for liberation.

INDEPENDENCE UNDER RELIGIOUS AUSPICES

It was well within the tenets of religion that the first steps to free Mexico were taken. The Declaration of Independence of Nov. 6, 1813, at Chilpancingo, stated that: "Congress declares solemnly in the presence of God, our Lord * * * that it does not profess or recognize any other religion than the Catholic, and that it shall not permit nor tolerate public or secret practice of any other." The first Mexican Constitution, dated Oct. 22, 1814, had in its first article: "The Roman Catholic religion is the only one to be professed in the country," and the famous Plan of Iguala, of Feb. 24, 1821, the year in which the nation's independence was consummated, also in its first article stated that Mexico's religion was the Roman Catholic and that no other was permitted; and the plan was drafted "in the name of God Almighty, author and supreme legislator of society." Article 3 of the Constitution of Oct. 4, 1824, read as follows: "The religion of the Mexican nation is and shall *perpetually* be the Roman Catholic. The nation protects it by wise and just laws and forbids the exercise of any other." The first of the constitutional laws of Dec. 29, 1836, provided that "every Mexican has the obligation to profess the religion of the fatherland."

The rift between Conservatives and Liberals, which started with the consumma-

tion of the independence of Mexico and which had the rich and the clergy on one side and the poor and the freemasons on the other (among the latter most of the most brilliant talents Mexico has produced), became more and more dangerous and caused the "Three-Year War," which ended in 1859. It was during this war that the most advanced legislation was enacted in Mexico by the Liberals, who thereafter controlled the destinies of the country, with the exception of the short interregnum of the Maximilian Empire, brought about by the defeated Conservatives. The Organic Law of the Empire, dated April 10, 1865, mentioned that "the form of Government shall be monarchical, with a Catholic prince" and the Cabinet included a Ministry of Public Instruction and Worship.

Presidents Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada and Benito Juárez are undoubtedly the two conspicuous figures in the social reform of Mexico, which culminated in the issuance of the Reform Laws in Vera Cruz in 1859, two years after the proclamation of the Mexican Constitution of Feb. 5, 1857. This Constitution was drafted after the French Charter of 1793 and the American Constitution of 1787, and though it contained radical tendencies, it nevertheless began with the words: "In the name of God and with the authority of the Mexican people." Under Section I, "The Rights of Man," Article 5, which was amended on Sept. 25, 1873, and May 14, 1901, provides that "no contract or agreement shall be allowed hindering the freedom of man," and that "no religious orders are permitted." Article 27 forbids religious corporations or institutions to acquire or manage real estate property, except buildings used actually for religious services, and Article 28 was amended on Sept. 25, 1873, to read that "State and Church are independent of each other," and that "Congress cannot dictate laws establishing or prohibiting any religion;" also, that "the simple promise to tell the truth and to comply with the obligations contracted shall constitute the religious oath."

Perhaps the most progressive monarch that Spain ever had was Charles III, and as the Jesuits were hindering his work, he ordered them expelled from Spain and her dominions in 1767, and confiscated their

property. President Lerdo de Tejada also expelled foreign Jesuits from Mexico in 1874. But the first move toward the attachment of Church property in Mexico took place as early as July 4, 1822, when it was decided to occupy the buildings of the Philippine missions and to confiscate the funds for religious activities outside of Mexico. Then, on June 25, 1856, the dis-entailing of Church property was decreed, and this, following the law issued on Nov. 23, 1855, cancelling the special privileges enjoyed by priests who before were above the law, precipitated the most bloody religious war in the history of Mexico.

REFORM LAWS OF THE 60's.

During the time that the Federal powers were residing at Vera Cruz in 1859, and in 1860 and 1862, the majority of the regulations curtailing the activities of the clergy in Mexico were issued. The reform laws were published on July 12, 1859, suppressing all monastical institutions and allowing only secular or independent priests. During this same year, on July 23, civil marriage was established; on July 31 cemeteries were secularized or taken away from Church control, and on Aug. 11 religious holidays were abolished and Government officials were forbidden to take part in religious ceremonies. The law of freedom of worship was decreed on Dec. 4, 1860, and on Aug. 30, 1862, it was established that priests, when on the street and in public places, except churches, should be compelled to wear civil clothes.

During the régime of Porfirio Díaz, who started as a Liberal and gradually became a decided Conservative, nearly all the laws curtailing the activities of the Church in Mexico became ineffective. Convents and monasteries were established throughout the country; the pastor in the farms and the small villages was again the instrument of the land owners and the industrial magnates. As the Church was one of the agencies of the régime overthrown by the revolution it naturally had to be considered as an enemy by the new Government, and the Church, certainly, has considered the revolution as an enemy and it has sided with the reactionary element, mainly because the organic laws of Mexico are now being enforced. Practically no new legislation has been issued in connection

with the Church in Mexico, with the exception of the prohibition against religious corporations directing primary schools and the regulation that in order to exercise the activities of priestcraft a person has to be Mexican by birth.

The Roman Church had more than 350 years to educate the Mexicans, to raise their economic standards, to create a free and happy people. "But during all these years of almost absolute rule the Church did none of these things; only the dominant aristocracy learned to read and write," to quote Carleton Beals in his accurate and interesting book, "Mexico—An Interpretation" (published in 1923). "The Church has manifested its desire to see the Mexican remain ignorant, debased and economically subject. It has opposed woman's suffrage, prohibition and labor organization. It has excommunicated peons participating in land subdivision and young men attending the Y. M. C. A. It has torn the land in twain with sanguinary civil war during 100 years and has fought every movement for human freedom and emancipation."

Dr. Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin went to Mexico in 1922 and wrote an impartial and stern book entitled "The Social Revolution of Mexico." He says: "Not only were the dignitaries of the Church hand-in-glove with the great planters, but some of them were members of the same families. The peons were in the leading-strings of priests, who confirmed them in their ignorance and submissiveness and filled their minds with the most absurd ideas as to religion and the respect due to the master." The Church is adamant against land reformers, and in some cases the local priest, by denouncing the villagers petitioning for an *ejido* as "robbers" and menacing them with denial of absolution, has bluffed them into withdrawing their petition."

At the end of nearly four centuries of control by the Church 90 per cent. of the Mexicans did not know how to read or write. Yet the Church now professes sympathy for the poor Mexicans, who ask: "Who is going to teach and educate us if the priests and the nuns do not?"

Religious Clauses of the Mexican Constitution

THE following is the text of the more important provisions of the present Constitution of Mexico, adopted in 1917, in regard to religious and educational matters:

Article 3—Instruction is free; that given in public institutions of learning shall be secular. Primary instruction, whether higher or lower, given in private institutions shall likewise be secular. No religious corporation nor minister of any religious creed shall establish or direct schools of primary instruction. Private primary schools may be established only subject to the official supervision. Primary instruction in public institutions shall be gratuitous.

Article 5—* * * The State shall not permit any contract, covenant or agreement to be carried out, having for its object the abridgment, loss or irrevocable sacrifice of the liberty of man, whether by reason of labor, education or religious vows. The law, therefore, does not permit the establishment of monastic orders, of whatever denomination, or for whatever purpose contemplated.

Article 24—Every one is free to embrace the religion of his choice and to practice all ceremonies, devotions or observances of his respective creed, either in places of public worship or at his home, provided they do not constitute an offense

punishable by law. Every religious act of public worship shall be performed strictly within the places of public worship, which shall be at all times under governmental supervision.

Article 37, Section 3—Citizenship shall be lost by [those] compromising themselves in any way before any ministers of any religious creed or before any other person not to observe the present Constitution or the laws arising thereunder.

Article 55, Section 6—Representatives shall have the following qualifications * * * They shall not be ministers of any religious creed.

Article 82—The President of the Republic shall not belong to the ecclesiastical State nor be a minister of any religious creed.

Article 130—The Federal authorities shall have power to exercise in matters of religious worship and outward ecclesiastical forms such intervention as by law authorized. All other officials shall act as auxiliaries to the Federal authorities.

The Congress shall not enact any laws establishing or forbidding any religion whatsoever.

Marriage is a civil contract. Marriage and all other acts relating to the civil status of individuals shall appertain to the exclusive jurisdiction of the civil authorities in the manner and form by law provided, and they shall have the force and validity given them by said laws.

A simple promise to tell the truth and to com-

ply with obligations contracted shall subject the promisor, in the event of a breach, to the penalties established therefor by law.

The law recognizes no juridical personality in the religious institutions known as churches.

Ministers of religious creeds shall be considered as persons exercising a profession, and shall be directly subject to the laws enacted on the matter.

The State Legislatures shall have the exclusive power of determining the maximum number of ministers of religious creeds, according to the needs of each locality. Only a Mexican by birth may be a minister of any religious creed in Mexico.

No ministers of religious creeds shall, either in public or private meetings, or in acts of worship or religious propaganda, criticize the fundamental laws of the country, the authorities in particular or the Government in general; they shall have no vote, nor be eligible to office, nor shall they be entitled to assemble for political purposes.

Before dedicating new temples of worship for public use, permission shall be obtained from the Department of the Interior; the opinion of the Governor of the respective State shall be previously heard on the subject. Every place of worship shall have a person charged with its care and maintenance, who shall be legally responsible for the faithful performance of the laws on religious observances within the said places of worship, and for all the objects used for purposes of worship.

The caretaker of each place of public worship, together with ten citizens of the place, shall promptly advise the municipal authorities as to the person charged with the care of the said place of worship. The outgoing minister shall in every instance give notice of any change, for which purpose he shall be accompanied by the incoming minister and ten other citizens of the place. The municipal authorities, under penalty of dismissal and fine not exceeding 1,000 pesos, for each breach, shall be responsible for the exact performance of this provision; they shall keep a register of the places of worship and another of the caretakers thereof, subject to the same penalty as above provided. The municipal

authorities shall likewise give notice to the Department of the Interior, through the State Governor, of any permission to open to the public use a new place of worship, as well as of any change in the caretakers. Gifts of personality may be received in the interior of places of public worship.

Under no conditions shall studies carried on in institutions devoted to the professional training of ministers of religious creeds be given credit or granted any other dispensation of privilege which shall have for its purpose the accrediting of the said studies in official institutions. Any authority violating this provision shall be punished criminally, and all such dispensation of privilege be null and void, and shall invalidate wholly and entirely the professional degree toward the obtaining of which the infraction of this provision may in any way have contributed.

No periodical publication which either by reason of its program, its title, or merely by its general tendencies is of a religious character, shall comment upon any political affairs of the nation, nor publish any information regarding the acts of the authorities or of private individuals, in so far as the latter have to do with public affairs.

Every kind of political association whose name shall bear any words or any indication relating to any religious belief is hereby strictly forbidden. No assemblies of any political character shall be held within places of public worship.

No minister of any religious creed may inherit, either on his own behalf or by means of a trustee or otherwise, any real property occupied by any association of religious propaganda or religious or charitable purposes. Ministers of religious creeds are incapable legally of inheriting from ministers of the same religious creed or from any private individual to whom they are not related by blood within the fourth degree.

All real and personal property pertaining to the clergy or to religious institutions shall be governed, in so far as their acquisition by private parties is concerned, in conformity with Article 27 of this Constitution.

No trial by jury shall ever be granted for the infraction of any of the preceding provisions.



Mexico's Peaceful Revolution Under Calles

By CHESTER M. WRIGHT

English Language Secretary, Pan-American Federation of Labor

NO thoughtful American can go into Mexico today and talk with Mexican leaders and put together what they say and what he sees without coming to the conclusion that modern Mexico is determined to bring into being, if possible, a nation that will be in the main independent of the rest of the world and in particular of the United States. Mexico for Mexicans—that is what is under the big Mexican hat today, and that is also something for the average American business man to think about.

Mexicans are making for themselves such plans for self-help and self-development as must challenge the admiration of every friendly person. The nation is striving and straining mightily to bring itself up to the heights of civilization. If this program of self-development is carried out in an era of Mexican-American friendship and mutual trust, it will be a wonderful thing for the United States as well as a blessing for Mexico, but if it is to take place in a period of mistrust and heckling and hectoring, it can only help to cut Mexicans away from their natural relations with Americans.

Mexico has, in proportion to its whole area, only a small amount of land that is at present productive. This is because of lack of rainfall. Mexico wants to raise more food. With irrigation great areas can be brought into high productivity. But with the recovery of land there must go education in farming. The plow of ancient Egypt is still the plow of many a Mexican farmer. The ox cart of old is his ox cart, with its great, solid wood wheels. Tools, education, land, all three must come together, for the one is of no use without the others. President Calles proposes to bring 2,500,000 acres under irrigation before his term of office expires. He is setting about the establishment of a great

series of agricultural schools in which the Mexican counterparts of the biblical farmers will be turned into farmers of today. One must know something of the vast expanses of sparsely settled deserts, and must picture the peon of today with his crude tools and scanty produce to grasp the immensity of this undertaking. But it is under way.

The foundation is laid, the first steps taken, and the President sits at his desk and talks of it with eyes half filled with the fire of action and achievement and half dimmed in dreams of future fulfillment. Calles seems like some strange mixture of prophet, crusader, engineer and father. He has, as he talks, the scientist's way of crowding the utmost meaning into the fewest words. Physically a big man, there is about him nothing at all of the aggressive or the blustering. He is quietly dignified when he is at work, perfectly free and natural in his few moments of relaxation. He lives a life of almost rigorous plainness. He is not greatly interested in politics. He has laid out his work and that is what he thinks about.

If Calles could be more of a politician, as that term is ordinarily understood, his path might be made to seem smoother. Asked for his views about the religious situation, which was in its way a "crisis" at the moment, he merely remarked: "That is one of our minor problems," and plunged into more talk about farms and banks and factories and schools—the things by which nations live and find their places in the modern sun. Here unmistakably is a man immersed in work, who will not be swerved from a tremendous task to which he has set his hand and his heart, who will not permit his energy to be sapped in things that do not have to do with concrete accomplishment in bettering the real things of life.

As a part of the plan to develop agriculture, the Calles Government has recently opened an agricultural bank in Mexico City. Gradually regional agricultural banks will be opened under the guidance of this central parent bank. In each community where a bank is opened a co-operative society of farmers will be formed and this cooperative society will have an interest in the bank. It is intended that eventually these cooperative societies shall take over the community or regional agricultural banks. From these institutions Mexican farmers will be able to borrow money at reasonable rates of interest. This they cannot now do, nor have they ever been able to do so.

HELPING THE FARMERS

For the farmers Calles has always in mind agricultural schools, tools, available credit when necessary, and reclaimed land. In the past few months he has bought in America and sold to Mexican farmers 8,000 sets of plows and harness, at a cost of \$26 per set and on three years' credit. This same equipment costs \$125 per outfit through private channels. He is distributing 16,000 horses to Mexican farmers in the same way. He is by such means striving to bring a people up out of ignorance, poverty and dirt to intelligence, orderly lives and requited toil. With each move made he pictures to himself some section of his people a little better off, a little nearer to a real freedom of existence.

What it is planned to do for the farmers through the agricultural banks it is planned to do for small business men, small manufacturers, the little industries of the cities, through a similar system of industrial banks. Calles knows his people, and he knows the kind of work to which they most naturally turn their hands. He wants to encourage and make life possible for them. And the Mexican who has had to borrow money has had to pay an interest rate running from 24 per cent. up to a staggering 48 per cent. Calles is striking at that with his new banks, hoping to bring credit within the reach of a starved business life.

While Mexico under Calles labors to fit the present generation to carve out a better livelihood, the children who will tomorrow

take up the burden of toil are figuring largely in the thought of the Government. In the last year 2,000 schools were opened and the Federal Government has laid out a program of 1,000 new schools per year, this program to be continued until Mexico is equipped with school room for every child. In the National University in Mexico City there are 13,000 students, many of whom will take their places as teachers in the growing school system of the Republic. In addition to the Mexicans who are in the schools and in the University of Mexico, there always are large numbers of Mexicans in the colleges of the United States. The best professional men of Mexico boast of their American college training, and they know also the best side of America—her generous, tolerant side, her helpful side and her cultural side. They are fine missionaries whose word is not always believed by those who think of America most frequently as "the Colossus of the North."

Mexico and the Mexican spirit of today cannot be understood without a survey of the Mexican trade union movement. First of all, the Mexican Federation of Labor, in the words of its General Secretary, Ricardo Trevino, assumes responsibility for the acts of the Government. The Mexican Federation of Labor is itself no more in politics than is the American Federation of Labor, but Mexican wage earners function politically through the Labor Party, organized specifically to keep the unions as unions out of the political arena. They are determined that no political reverse shall endanger the life of the economic organizations.

Luis N. Morones is and has been since its organization twelve years ago the leader of the Mexican labor movement. He and Samuel Gompers were close friends and Morones possesses many of the striking characteristics possessed by Gompers. He has the same amazing capacity for work, the same command of absolute fidelity and loyalty among his followers, the same genius for "mixing," the same marvelously retentive memory and perhaps a keener sense for getting at the intricate details of involved problems. Morones is Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor in the Calles Cabinet, the right hand man of the

President and his confidant in all things. It is Morones who has supervision over the stubborn and vexing oil situation and who single-handedly meets and contends with the oil magnates and their astute lawyers when they and the Government come to grips. Morones is Vice Chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, of which William Green is Chairman, and he keeps in touch, not only with his own affairs in Mexico, but with all Pan-American labor affairs, including those of the United States. He, like Trevino and every one of their trade union associates, came out of the workshop and in almost every case their education, their knowledge of affairs and their ability to function in important places has been gained in the twelve years which constitute in Mexico the revolutionary period.

LABOR UNION POLICY

What does this trade union movement stand for in the Mexico of today? In the first place it upholds and works for the Calles idea of a Mexico economically independent. It was at the last labor convention, held in March, 1926, that Calles, making one of his few speeches since inauguration, proclaimed that the people of Mexico to be really politically free must be economically free. That is why there are to be found in Mexican labor policy the most unlooked-for restraints. "In our twelve years," Trevino told me, "we have raised wages an average of 85 per cent. We are now strong enough to demand whatever we want but we do not purpose to demand more than Mexican industry can give and yet remain stable. We have organized technical committees and a study of the possibilities of every industry has been made for the purpose of revealing its producing capacity and its capacity to pay wages. No strike for wages is permitted until the proper technical committee has passed upon and approved the wage demands. We will not permit strikes for impossible demands. Mexican industry must be helped."

In her efforts to encourage industry Mexico is handicapped by machinery that is frequently two or three decades out of date. This is a factor that Mexican trade unions have constantly to take into con-



PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES
President of the Mexican Republic

sideration. So far from being the unruly and Bolshevik organizations which they have frequently been represented to be, the Mexican unions have taken into consideration the condition of the machinery in wage negotiations, allowing a differential for plants that were not equipped to keep up with their more modern competitors. A specific example of this is in the textile industry which centres around Orizaba in the State of Vera Cruz. The manufacturers asked the unions to join in helping to secure a tariff to protect them against American competition. The unions declined, saying that Mexico needed production, that it must develop production and that it could not do so under tariff protection any better than without a tariff. The wage scales are therefore so fixed that the poorly equipped plants are allowed a lower rate, but are bound to work with the union technical committees to improve the plants and bring production up to the maximum.

Union efficiency committees are at work everywhere, helping to stop faulty methods, to eliminate useless effort, to make machinery count to the utmost, to speed up Mexican production in every manner possible—except one. Speed must not come

solely out of human energy. The worker must do his best, but he must not be driven, and he is taught to get the most out of machines. It was with pride that Secretary Trevino and his associates showed a mechanical device invented by one of the union efficiency committees which increased the output of a certain machine about 20 per cent. per day.

The Mexican Federation of Labor has a membership of a million and a half, and it is growing steadily. The membership, including the officers, knows and responds to a discipline that is remarkable. There is the same sapping Communist minority to deal with that has vexed American labor since Russia embraced that mad faith, but its resistance to the "boring from within" element has been stern and effective. Mexican labor, in philosophy, tactics, form of organization and policies, is more like the American Federation of Labor than it is like any other labor movement in the world. And toward the rest of the world and its affairs the Mexican Federation of Labor acts as a unit with the American Federation of Labor and frankly tells the rest of the world that is its fixed policy.

A convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor, save for clothes and difference of language, is much like a convention of the American Federation of Labor. There is no more oratory and perhaps not as much. Mexican labor, free to function and loaded with responsibilities and tasks, talks little and turns to methods and objectives instead. At its last convention it authorized the organization of a school for the training of leaders. "It took twelve years for what training I have," said Trevino, explaining the need for this school. "We have not enough men for our work. We cannot wait twelve years. So we are to open this school to train men for trade union leadership."

The conservatism and nationalism of the Mexican Federation of Labor are illustrated by its caution in refusing to demand higher wages than industry can safely pay. Its power and its vigorous use of power, when it deems this necessary, is illustrated with equal force by the fact that when a strike is called in Mexico no picket line is necessary to enforce either the stoppage of work or the cessation of patronage. The

flag of the Federation, nailed up on a door or factory gate, is sufficient warning. There need be no guard or picket anywhere. No workman will go to work where that banner proclaims a strike.

"Our movement," said Trevino, "as I have tried to show, is absolutely nationalist. What conflicts we have with employers are within Mexico. Mexican idealism is our idealism. For us the Mexican flag is supreme. Our labor colors blend with and support the national colors." It was during the days of the war and just after that Samuel Gompers used to say that the American labor movement was the only one in the world that was "not at the throat of its Government." This proud declaration needs amending, for the Mexican labor movement is at the back of its Government, supporting it, helping direct it, and standing with it against whatever outside menace may threaten.

LESSONS FROM ABROAD

The intensity of Mexican determination to build a Mexico for Mexicans does not exclude either the foreigner or his experience, but it does set up, and most determinedly, the postulate that the foreigner shall not dominate. Mexican labor shares this feeling. It has, perhaps more than another modern labor movement, gone abroad for information. As a part of the Pan-American Federation of Labor it voted three years ago for a resolution demanding that to each national embassy there be sent a labor attaché to study and report upon labor affairs abroad. President Calles appointed five such attachés, the appointees being trade unionists selected by the labor movement. One was sent to Russia, one to England, one to Italy, one to Germany and one to Washington. The man who was sent to Russia returned and resigned, preferring to work in a factory at home. He complained that he could not live in such an atmosphere of espionage as he found in Moscow. These attachés have poured their observations back into Mexico. The conclusion reached has been: "We must work out our problems for ourselves. This is Mexico and conditions are what they are in Mexico."

Mexico feels that if ever she lets down her pride of sovereignty for an instant

sovereignty will vanish. More than that, she feels misrepresented before the world by a press that grasps at the sensational and the bizarre, but that pays scant attention to the great currents of plodding effort to build a nation. Mexicans, with whom honor is a fine matter, resent the flow of reports impugning their moral integrity in international dealings. And there has been at least some vindication for the Mexican point of view in this respect in recent months, when from the record it is shown that every flaming "crisis" has yielded to negotiations, as the Mexicans said it would, and there is yet no American State Department "victory" over a "treacherous" Mexican Foreign Office.

It is not long since the oil question threatened to disturb, if not destroy, friendly relations. There was in the House of Representatives in Washington a resolution calling for an end to diplomatic relations. The oil question has again subsided. A long interchange of notes has been published and it is difficult to see in what way Mexico got the worst of the exchange. The religious question came along, and there was much ado about that. It was without doubt a most delicate question. That Mexico in that case trespassed upon no American rights was well proved by the absence of any note from Washington to Mexico City on the subject. There were expulsions, about 200 of them. But there are some 8,000 priests in Mexico, most of them going about their religious business. The papal delegate in Mexico understands much better than American Catholics what the trouble has been about and two conversations with him, running over three or four hours, revealed the distinct possibility that here also amity may come as the result of human effort to reason the way out of an old and involved

difficulty. In the abstract both Church and Government today ask the same thing, and there is much evidence that a common aim in principle may become a state of affairs in fact. But in any case the question is solely a Mexican question.

Those who fail to recall that many Mexican problems are as they are because of Mexican history will continue to fail in understanding them. It is important to

keep in mind in practically every one of the major Mexican problems and in Mexican-American relations that, whereas the United States had the good fortune to be first peopled with whites who came to make homes and till the soil, Mexico had the ill fortune to be first peopled with whites who came as conquerors, to pillage and carry off wealth. The Pilgrims came to America, while it was the Conquistadores who went to Mexico. This distinction has remained to the present day and it is this great and tragic distinction that Mexico is today trying to eradicate. Mexico has had enough of conquest—400 years of it, in one form or another. She has been robbed of



Harris & Ewing

LUIS N. MORONES
Head of the Mexican Labor movement, Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor, and confidential advisor to President Calles

wealth immeasurable, robbed of everything except that most real of all things, the unconquerable soul of a people determined to be truly free. In the Mexican effort to shake off the conquest and all of its remnants, actual and psychological, there have been abuses in plenty. But the world has never known a revolution that did not bring its train of abuses and excesses. "For these we offer restitution or adjustment," says the Mexican Government. "These wrongs are trifling indeed, compared to what we have had to suffer." That is something of the Mexico of today, a Mexico that shows on every hand signs of improvement and progress and that has a national unity and a national purpose more clearly outlined than ever before.

Stanley Baldwin, Great Britain's Prime Minister

By LEONARD R. HULME

London Staff Correspondent of The New York Times

GREAT crises produce great men, and Great Britain has just found one in Stanley Baldwin, her Prime Minister. Four years ago he was hardly known; two years ago he appeared to have committed wanton political suicide. Now he has come successfully through a supreme test whose outcome meant either his complete failure or his triumphant recognition as one of his country's greatest statesmen. A politician by profession, he has not, as one competent observer has said of him, a political mind. He looks at nothing from the party point of view; he weighs every proposal before him by the one standard of its effect on the country's welfare, and he seeks to use his high office, not as leader of the Unionist Party, but as the head of the British Government, pledged to do the best possible for all sections of the King's subjects.

Just as the present session of Parliament opened, Mr. Baldwin received high commendation from the most diverse sources. J. L. Garvin, editor of the *Observer*, the organ of outspoken progressive Conservatism, and T. P. O'Connor, father of the House of Commons and last of the old Irish Nationalists, came out one Sunday simultaneously in his praise, and a few days later the *Times* raised its authoritative voice in his favor. Since then many of the lesser journalistic fry have chimed in and have paid Fleet Street's sincerest compliment in showing ever-increasing interest in his public utterances. Yet from the mere spectacular point of view there was nothing the Premier had been doing to earn this unanimous laudation. Other members of the Cabinet had been much in the public eye—Mr. Amery over the Mosul controversy; Winston Churchill in the Italian debt negotiations; Sir Austen Chamberlain for the Locarno settlement—whereas Mr. Baldwin had kept as much as possible out

of the limelight, and, as a skillful and generous captain of a team, had permitted his lieutenants to acquire all the personal credit they could earn. Even on a ceremonial occasion, the signing of the Locarno treaties in London, it was Sir Austen Chamberlain who presided, while Mr. Baldwin contented himself with a few almost formal words of congratulation.

Mr. Baldwin has not always enjoyed his present popularity. Last Fall the British press, irritated by his refusal to be frightened by the coal crisis, seemed to grudge him even his vacation. An unpremeditated word concerning his few weeks of rest on the Continent was taken up seriously and set all the cartoonists and facetious paragraphers upon him. "I haven't read any newspapers while I've been away," he was reported to have observed on returning to London, and the less responsible newspapers were nearly beside themselves with indignation at the thought of the Prime Minister of a great country who could deliberately on his holiday turn a deaf ear to their daily outpourings of criticism and conjecture.

In one thing Mr. Baldwin has been very fortunate—the exceeding weakness and folly of the Opposition. Nothing could be better for a man of his moderation than the violent futilities of the Labor Party or the internecine squabbles of the various sections of the Liberals. He has not had to consider any possible successor. There is not even a united party of any sort to take the place of his great majority, and he has been able to go his own way, conscious that the combination, which in the end will bring about his defeat, has not yet been born. Meanwhile, he has taken full advantage of his exceptional Parliamentary position. He has used his almost unique political security to carry his followers on a course plotted by his hand

alone. It has by no means always been popular, but he has never wavered. On at least two occasions—when he appointed Winston Churchill Chancellor of the Exchequer, and when he refused to support the bill for the reform of the trade unions' political levy—he deliberately opposed his own will to the very kernel of his party, the Conservative “die-hards,” and won. These were as striking proofs of the resolution of the man as the initiative he assumed in the Fall of 1922 to bring the Coalition Government to an end.

CHALLENGE TO LLOYD GEORGE

Think of the chances he took on that occasion and the courage he showed in facing Lloyd George in the apparent plenitude of his power. A month before the Ministry seemed so firmly fixed in office that it had risked bringing the British Empire, weary to the last degree of the very thought of war, into a new fight with Turkey over the Chanak affair. There was a stirring among the people and a deep longing for a less erratic leadership, and what is known as the revolt of the Under Secretaries—something like a strike among the junior members of the Ministry—took place. Stanley Baldwin adhered to it. He was, it is true, in the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade, but he had made no mark, and it seemed absurd to pit him against Lloyd George, Lord Birkenhead, Winston Churchill and Austen Chamberlain. The only considerable backing he possessed was Bonar Law—then very ill in health and in retirement—but the meeting of protest at the Carlton Club was held, and it was Stanley Baldwin's speech that decided the day.

Think, then, of the time when he was forming his present Ministry. Winston Churchill, one of the “Big Three” of Lloyd George's Cabinet, had just gained re-election on the anti-Socialist ticket, but was completely distrusted by the old-fashioned Conservatives. They recognized his ability, but they feared it; they regarded him as a renegade and they had profound misgivings of him as a Minister. Mr. Churchill himself would probably have accepted

thankfully any place in the Cabinet and would have been willing to earn his recognition in the party he had just rejoined. But Mr. Baldwin had his own ideas. He realized Mr. Churchill's great debating powers and perhaps thought he would be considerably less embarrassing to his Government if he were admitted to the gilded restraint of a Cabinet position than if he were left with all the irresponsibility that resides in a seat on the back benches. Suddenly the Prime Minister sent for him and to the outspoken consternation of his “die-hard” supporters offered him the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. It was killing the fatted calf with a vengeance. The Prodigal returned to his old party to find that not only was all forgiven and forgotten, but he had been promoted to the second place in it. Mr. Baldwin alone had done this; openly stating that his selection of his Cabinet colleagues was his own, without consultation with anybody.

Still bolder was the line Mr. Baldwin took over the political levy. That is the system by which every member of a trade union must contribute to its political funds, unless he publicly refuses. This means that, as the control of the trade unions has been captured by the Socialists, members of other political views—and there are hundreds of thousands of them—must help to support the Labor Party or face the odium and perhaps victimization that must always be the risk of those who stand out against the will of their fellows. At the last general election many successful Conservative candidates made an issue of this and pledged themselves to vote for the reformation of the levy; and great was their jubilation when they discovered that one of their number had secured the right to bring it up before the House of Commons. But they did not understand Mr. Baldwin. He is as much against the present levy as any of his followers, but he looks upon it as only one phase of the great trade union question. These great combinations must one day or other be reformed, if parliamentary government is to endure; but to meddle with them now would be premature and to attack their financial provisions, the source of the money which keeps the Labor Party going, would be to rouse a storm of bitter indig-

nation. To do so would be to render absolutely impracticable that cooperation with the moderate labor leaders which the Prime Minister considers absolutely essential to the solution of Great Britain's industrial problems, and it was in his view simply not worth while to provoke such a contest.

When the debate came on, Mr. Baldwin made an appeal to his followers to drop the plan on which their hearts were set. It was a great speech—one of those few speeches which can be definitely said to have changed a vote of the House of Commons. It was direct and concise; it quoted from his own wide experience of industrial life and it spoke straight to the highest feelings of all who heard it. It proved his insight into the troubles of the labor situation and it ended with the declaration that he could never be the man to throw the first stone in industrial war. "Give peace in our time, O Lord!" was the prayer with which Mr. Baldwin sat down, and his sincerity and earnestness convinced men of every variety of opinion that here was a man who on occasion could rise high above the ordinary prejudices of political life.

To appreciate the attitude the Prime Minister continually assumes toward the problems of the day, it should be compared to that which the monarch of a constitutional State must take up toward the party strife around him. Two volumes of the letters of Queen Victoria have been published recently, and they reveal how closely she followed politics, how keenly interested she was in every side of political life and yet how impartial she was. So, too, Mr. Baldwin. Party seems to him nothing; national progress everything. He would work with all men of good intent, whatever their political creed may be, and he is perfectly willing to adopt and adapt good ideas from whatever source they spring. Indeed, he is quite willing to ask the advice of the very men whom by all the



Underwood

STANLEY BALDWIN
The British Prime Minister

rules of the game he should consider utter heretics in all political matters.

This characteristic of his was shown most clearly in the House of Commons debate, in which the ill-omened word "subsidy" was first admitted into the field of British practical politics. A discussion was in progress on unemployment, and the Opposition was making its usual demand that the Government should furnish a political remedy for an essentially non-political evil. Mr. Baldwin made a characteristic reply. He declined to make party capital out of the matter. He hardly spoke as a parliamentarian at all, but took the tone of the chairman of an investigating committee and he seemed to expect as much aid in dealing with such a terrible evil from those ranged opposite to him as from his own supporters. He was suggesting

the lines on which he thought the debate might profitably progress, and in the course of his speech let fall the word "subsidy." It would be helpful, he said, if some of the speakers would discuss the question whether the State could give a subsidy to industry and, if so, under what conditions. The House was thunderstruck. That the leader of the Conservative Party, the party which has ever been against State interference with commercial enterprise, should have dallied for even a moment with such a financial heresy was an epoch-making political fact. It was true he had given no pledge, but it was clear something was moving in his mind that might make it easy for him to grant a subsidy at some time or other.

Not so very long after that speech he did approve the subsidy to the coal mines. Yet it would be a gross misunderstanding of the man to suppose that at that time he had any such expedient in view. He was merely thinking aloud and assuming—good, easy man—that it was possible for a Prime Minister to treat the House of Commons as if it really were the great council of the nation, and would on his appeal lay aside its politics and pool its intelligence and experience to find an escape from a terrible national danger. To do that would, of course, imply that party leaders could at times forget political expediency and perhaps even their political shibboleths. It would be a big thing to ask; yet Mr. Baldwin had done it himself.

UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

One of the most curious incidents in the Prime Minister's career is his speech at Plymouth in 1923, in which he came out for protection and thereby precipitated a general election and brought his first administration to an end. It has been held up as an example of extraordinary recklessness, which must ever stamp Mr. Baldwin as an "unsafe man." Yet viewed in the light of what is now known of his methods of thought and of the deep uneasiness, revealed in his speeches, about the suffering of the masses and the moral effect on the younger generation caused by unemployment, it will be realized as just the thing he might be expected to do. Mrs. Baldwin, indeed, has given an intimate

revelation of how he felt, as he realized the responsibility that lay on him to find some cure. He lay awake, she said, thinking of the terrible plight of the two million men at that time out of work, and the greater numbers dependent on them. He was always casting round for some device by which he could encourage employment for them, and at last he came to the personal conclusion that there was nothing feasible but the establishment of a protective tariff. So he fired his bombshell, whether after full consideration with his leading colleagues has never been revealed; but undoubtedly after racking his own brains and drawing on his own very considerable experience of industry.

Mr. Baldwin, it should not be forgotten, differs from the average man who attains to political distinction in that he had been for years engaged in commercial life before he became a figure in the House of Commons. Not only did he inherit the control of the great family business, which was the nucleus of the present widely known Baldwin's, Limited, an engineering concern, but he was also a director and chairman of the important Great Western Railway, one of the largest of the English systems. What he owes to these years spent as a "captain of industry" comes out not only in his political acts and speeches but in those occasional addresses, of which he has delivered not a few. There is in them an unusual autobiographical note which brings out his habit of applying to the problems that beset him the touchstone of his own personal experience of life. "I expect all of you have learned, as I have," he said in a speech on education and citizenship, "that education is a process and a thing that is never finished." It is because Mr. Baldwin is deliberately always learning that he has developed from an almost unknown Minister, whom all men liked because he was such a decent fellow, into the confident and skillful commander of vast Parliamentary forces.

It is an attractive picture that he has thus drawn of himself. First, he has shown himself the fortunate heir to a comfortable business. It was an old-established, old-fashioned affair, very different from the great soulless centres of mass production, which we have evolved in these latter days.

"It was a place," he has said, "where I knew and had known from childhood every man on the ground; a place where I was able to talk with the men not only about the troubles in the works but troubles at home and their wives. It was a place where strikes and lockouts were unknown. It was a place where the fathers and grandfathers of the men then working there had worked, and where their sons went automatically into the business. It was also a place where nobody ever 'got the sack,' and where we had a natural sympathy for those who were less concerned in efficiency than is this generation, and where a large number of old gentlemen used to spend their days sitting on the handles of wheelbarrows, smoking their pipes. Oddly enough, it was not an inefficient community. It was the last survival of that type of works which ultimately became swallowed up in one of those great combinations toward which the industries of today are tending." No one with such recollections of the environment of his young manhood could be indifferent to the personal side of the conflict between labor and capital, or could fail to realize that there are vast human interests at stake beneath all the talk of economic change, and it is notable that Mr. Baldwin, in the face of an Opposition which is bent on twisting the trade union movement into a political machine for his own defeat, has always had the courage to express a belief in the trade unions themselves.

SCHOLARLY TASTES

Business preoccupations are only one side of the Prime Minister's experience. Amid all the distractions of his busy life he has managed to retain a somewhat unexpected love of the classics. He had the



Mr. and Mrs. Baldwin, photographed at Chequers, the Prime Minister's official country residence, near London

ordinary education of the well-to-do Englishman, and was at Harrow before he went to Cambridge; but he has no claim to be a scholar in the sense that Lord Oxford and Asquith or Lord Balfour has. In his address as President of the Classical Association he described half humorously how he always has his dictionary and grammar by his side as he hammers out the sense of some Latin or Greek author whom he loves. But he does hammer it out; that is the point. With true literary taste he quoted some beautiful passages from the Greek to illustrate how the heroism of English youth had touched him during the war, and he gave one of his reminiscences to show the benefit the great writers of old had conferred upon him in his practical life. In his early days, when

he was canvassing his constituency as a candidate for Parliament, he found it necessary to court popularity by attending wearisome "sing-songs" in the local taverns. Some of the jokes and ditties were highly spiced and, weary of his company and sickened by his environment, he would return home and plunge into his beloved classics for an hour or so before he went to bed.

Perhaps the most characteristic of all these recent occasional addresses, as showing how he habitually coordinates his own life with the harder lot of others, is the little speech he found time to deliver in aid of a fund organized by the Young Women's Christian Association to provide clubs for office girls in the financial districts. He described his own great safeguard from the overwhelming pressure of a Prime Minister's work; how he found that the one thing that enabled him to carry on was to snatch an hour or so in the middle of the day and steal away from Downing Street to the peace and quiet of his club for luncheon. What was good for him, he argued, must be good for the young women who were compelled to leave their homes for hours to work in the bustle of a great city. They worked as hard as he, and he would, if he could, provide for them a resting place, such as he found so useful.

Such is the man whom destiny placed at the head of the British Government in one of the most perplexing times in its long history. He has chosen to meet the crisis before him by pacific methods. He is seeking a settlement by agreement in a State inured to politics. He depended on his own power to bring all parties into a frame of mind that would consent to compromises, and he relied on his own ability to inspire confidence among men of many different classes and outlooks. There is much in his favor. He is a man whose

ample private fortune raises him above all suspicion of office hunting. He is not brilliant as some of his colleagues are brilliant, but he possesses saving common sense; he combines with it, however, a shrewd insight. In his own words, he is a "plain man." He has a keen sense of duty and a determination to carry through the work he thinks necessary, even against the wishes of his colleagues.

It is no secret that Mr. Baldwin negotiated a settlement with regard to the British debt to America, because he held it just, which was far from meeting the terms which his chief, Mr. Bonar Law, considered reasonable. Only the other day he gave another example of his determination. When he had seen for himself the terrible conditions of housing in Scotland, he first on his own initiative pledged his Government to pay a handsome subsidy on all new buildings, and when that did not produce its effect, he boldly declared that the Government would erect the houses itself. His sympathy with the conditions of the unemployed and the less well paid classes of the industrial community is manifest in all he says and does, and though the leader of a great party with an impregnable majority, he has never sought to ride roughshod over the Opposition, but has sought to work with all classes and gather advice from every quarter.

The recent triumph of Mr. Baldwin's administration, which will establish him as one of Britain's greatest Prime Ministers, was achieved during the crisis of the recent general strike. The firm position which he maintained in resisting any encroachments on Parliamentary Government, the confidence among all classes in his integrity, his promises and his unimpeachable character saved the country from civil strife and its appalling consequences and won for him enthusiastic praise from political friend and foe alike.

Industrial Welfare Movement Sapping American Trade Unions

By ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

Research Director, Pennsylvania Old Age Commission

IS trade unionism doomed in America? This question is not prompted by any bias. It is a result of a lengthy study of the newly developed relationship which has become noticeable even to the casual observer. A recent delegation of British workmen studying industrial conditions in the United States remarked that what surprised them most in this country was the harmonious relations between management and employees. The recent general strike in Great Britain is an excellent example of the difference in this respect between the two nations. Not only is such an adventure inconceivable in the United States, but were all the members of the American Federation of Labor to obey such an order, the industrial activities of the country would scarcely be affected.

This new relationship between employer and employee is quietly but persistently shaping its way in American industry. On the one hand, employers of labor are increasingly assuming obligations and responsibilities toward their employees such as were hitherto undreamed of. What was formerly characterized as "sentimental foolishness or wasteful philanthropy" has now come to be an essential in "service work." On the other hand, all evidences seem to indicate that the organization of wage-earners on a belligerent basis is gradually becoming a thing of the past. More and more the worker is enjoying wages and conditions such as the average labor leader had not hoped to obtain for his followers except by generations of struggle.

The writer has recently had occasion to examine the "welfare" practices of over 1,500 of the larger concerns in the United States. Eighty per cent. of these corporations, employing more than 4,000,000 workers, have adopted at least one type of industrial welfare work, while almost

half the firms have inaugurated comprehensive schemes of service activities for the protection of their employees against various emergencies. About one-fiftieth only of the total had undertaken no welfare measures.

"Employees' welfare" activities are not new in this country. But the earlier efforts along these lines were decidedly acts of philanthropy and paternalistic in character. Modern welfare activities, however, are studied economic practices based on the recognition that production is far more a matter of efficient men than of improved machinery. Underneath, these often aspire to help the workers out of their own class by the gradual identification of their interests with those of the management. While working for the increase of production and profits, modern industrial welfare practices hope to obtain this result not through discrimination or the lowering of standards, but by recognizing that capital can prosper only as long as it secures the good-will of its workers by providing better advantages for them.

What reasons underlie the amazing growth of this new relationship? Briefly, they are these:

- (1) The wide diffusion of corporate ownership and the replacement of the old line "captain of industry" by salaried heads and managers. These new men who are more and more recruited from the business schools of our large universities enter industry with a more open mind and are imbued from their college days with a certain social mindedness toward the workers under them such as was altogether foreign to the generation of men who have "risen from the ranks." The doctrine that a contented employee is the best asset to a prosperous business is accepted by

them as a cardinal principle of successful management;

(2) The replacement of the marginal employer by well established concerns who can afford to give adequate consideration to the improvement of both their labor maintenance as well as the quality of their products;

(3) The desire to anticipate or avoid governmental regulation and legislation. Indeed, the most extensive development of the major features of present day "welfare work" parallels the period of agitation for protective labor laws;

(4) The effect of the war and the cutting off of immigration, which reduced the supply of labor, necessitating greater consideration of the existing labor force;

(5) The growth and power achieved by the labor unions in the United States during the war, and abroad since the war;

(6) The advent of the "public relations" or social-engineer whose influence on labor relations is steadily growing in modern industry;

(7) The growth of insurance companies which, with their increasing power and influence, have sought for new fields to conquer. The main inspiration for the amazing spread of at least two or three major phases of present day "welfare work" can probably be credited to their prodigious zeal;

(8) Last, but not least, there is, unquestionably, a new and different spirit abroad since the days of the industrial pioneer. A new generation is now in control and many an industrial leader has really come to be convinced that as his "brother's keeper" he must safeguard the welfare of the men under him.

NEW RELATIONS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

This study of industrial welfare work discloses facts which, though not yet affording affirmative answers, raise some fundamental questions. Is American industry, through its new policy in regard to labor relations, actually evolving an entirely new aspect of the problem of capital and labor? Should the events of the last ten years indicate any permanent tendency, is the Marxian prophecy of an increased class consciousness in exact ratio to the development of capitalistic production entirely out of place as far as Ameri-

can conditions are concerned? Furthermore, what chances of growth and expansion can the trade-union movement have under such circumstances in the United States? And if the labor movement is doomed, one may, indeed, ask, what then?

The trade unionist is beside the point when he dismisses welfare plans as mere attempts "to make employes loyal to the company, to undermine their independence and to defeat efforts to increase wages." The fact is that these activities are spreading at an accelerating rate; that they have been accepted by the great majority of wage-earners, among them many old-time trade unionists; that many workers prefer the advantage conferred by the employer to those of the union; that the overwhelming opinion of employers of labor is that these methods are successful and of benefit to all concerned. While the results of this changing attitude are yet too early to forecast, we can examine the facts and speculate upon the future possibilities.

Although the membership of the American Federation of Labor had been, with but two or three lapses, steadily growing up to 1920, when it reached the peak of over 4,050,000, it has been steadily falling to 2,877,297 for the fiscal year of 1925. This decline may be discounted by the mushroom growth of the movement during the war. However, the real strength of a labor movement lies not in mere size, but in the vitality and missionary zeal which permeate it. And it is in the decadence of the spirit, the hopes and aspirations of the rank and file that the dissipation of the American labor movement is most clearly revealed today. It is in the diminishing attendance at union meetings and their dismal spiritlessness that this decline has manifested itself most significantly and most definitely.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor recently published a bulletin on "The Present Situation in the Labor Movement." It was based upon the replies of labor officials of high rank to a questionnaire which began as follows: "Does your experience reveal a rather general state of indifference on the part of the rank and file of organized workers?" Twenty-two of the twenty-six answers received unequivocally declared that their experience reveals a gen-

eral state of indifference at the present time more pronounced than ever before. Says one labor leader: "Our meetings are not being attended. The unions grow less in numbers as well as in influence; the man that has the ability to lead is about tired of doing so, and the others do not care to take up the work." Another labor leader declares: "I recognize it [the indifference] as a fact and a regrettable one. In the recent strike here in New York of a part of the * * * Union, my friends who are acting as organizers tell me it was impossible to stir up any enthusiasm on the part of the strikers." A letter "from a source of unusual significance" states:

Yes—since Jan. 1, I have visited every important industrial centre in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Montana, Washington, Oregon, California, Utah and Wyoming and Colorado. I can say frankly and unhesitatingly that a very general state of apathy and indifference exists in practically every centre which I have personally visited and from conferences with responsible trade union officers and members I am convinced that this situation is pretty general.

In explaining the causes of this inertia, the labor leaders blamed the present stagnation upon themselves, upon the war, business conditions, on the automobile, the radio, the desire for pleasure, jazz, the movies, games, the good times, the bad times, President Coolidge, the ignorance of the workers, the Communists, the autocratic and corrupt management of labor unions, the gross materialism of the labor movement, the capitalist press, the lack of a labor press, the Church, the general disillusionment and the like. A characteristic example is this letter from a prominent labor leader:

I am of the opinion that there is a general break-down of the serious side of life. Our younger members especially have gone jazzy. I have been at the head of my brotherhood twenty years this coming October. The young generation has grown up almost strangers to us who have charge of the organization. It seems like we have tried everything to interest our members; reading rooms, lecture courses, debates, these do not seem to take hold of the modern American.

HOW UNIONS ARE UNDERMINED

The plausibility of these explanations cannot be denied. Their relation to the

present supine state of the American labor movement are self-evident. But these labor leaders seem to have ignored the core of the problem—the spread and development of industrial welfare activities in the last decade, which have undisputably done most to undermine the very basis of the existing American trade union movement. For "pure and simple" trade unionism has been concerned primarily with the securing of a shorter workday, higher wages and improved working conditions. Since the eight or nine hour workday has become practically general, and since as a body the trade unions have taken no serious steps in demanding a still shorter day, this issue has practically eliminated itself. Labor officials still contend that trade union rates are generally higher than non-union wages. This is generally true, but considering the elimination of labor troubles, non-union wage rates throughout the year frequently balance up to union rates. Furthermore, non-union workers have always benefited by the struggles of the organized workers whose higher wage standards gradually trickle down to the unorganized workers. The only remaining issue of the American labor movement—the improvement of working conditions—has been taken out of its hands by the employers going labor one better and adopting conditions such as the trade unionists never dared to ask. By this process the main reasons for the existence of the American labor movement have been gradually subverted, leaving it practically lifeless. The ideology and aspirations characterizing the European labor movements have never been part of the main labor body in the United States. And the newer activities of labor in banking, investment companies and insurance are at best only copying what the employers are doing.

Only fifteen years ago group life insurance, i. e., the attempt on the part of employers of labor to protect the dependents of deceased employes by insuring the lives of their workers, was hardly known. The first of such policies was not written until 1911. In 1912 the total amount of insurance written under these policies amounted to \$13,172,198. In 1917 the total group insurance in force was \$346,-

525,472. In 1922 it had risen to \$1,852,593,553. At the end of 1924 sixty one insurance companies had written \$3,264,638,213 of group insurance, nearly doubling in two years the amount issued in the first eleven years.

The complete figures for the year 1925 are yet unavailable. But figures obtained from seven insurance companies, which in 1924 had written over 90 per cent. of the business, would indicate that the total group insurance written by the end of 1925 amounted to approximately four and a half or five billion dollars, representing an increase of about 3,500 per cent. in 13 years. These seven insurance companies had covered by the end of 1925 a total of 3,051,281 employees. This would make the total for the entire country, in round numbers, about 3,500,000 workers. The amazing spread of this form of insurance is shown further by the fact that of the 1,500 industrial concerns examined, almost 50 per cent. of those having adopted some welfare measures have provided their employees with group insurance. One out of four only collected part of these premiums from their employees.

Group insurance against illness of employees was practically unknown before 1919; but of the 1,500 concerns studied, eighty have already adopted group-health insurance for their employees. The seven insurance companies, already referred to, had by the end of 1925 covered 383,995 employees with this insurance. The fact that for five of these companies the insurance written in 1925 represented an average increase of 48.6 per cent. over the year 1924, is significant of the trend of the movement. These group-health policies provide the workers with liberal wages ranging from 13 to 52 weeks, either gratuitously or by sharing the cost with their employers.

In the establishment of industrial old age pensions also, a study just completed by the writer of 310 formal pension schemes discloses the fact that, though before 1900 there were but four such systems, and only 126 additional plans were started up to 1915, 180 new systems have been added since. Moreover, over 200 concerns reported that, though they had adopted no formal rules, they did provide

pensions for their aged employees. The number of workers covered by these various formal and informal plans amounted in 1924-25 to approximately 3,500,000 and at this writing is probably nearer 4,000,000.

Even in the case of the oldest form of welfare practice—the mutual benefit or relief associations—a significant change has occurred in the last decade. In the earlier stages of this movement it was not uncommon for employees to refuse the cooperation and contributions of the employers to these funds for fear lest in doing so the company might have some ulterior motive. A great many of the newer plans, 207 out of 322 examined, actually provide for a contribution from the employer which frequently amounts to a sum equal to that contributed by the employees.

EMPLOYEES' STOCK OWNERSHIP

The rapid growth of employees' stock purchase plans is also largely a product of the last few years. Most of these, indeed, came as a result of the war loans. Some fantastic writers have gone so far as to declare that the spread of this movement implies that "laborers are becoming capitalists and capitalists laborers." These exaggerations are unnecessary in evaluating the importance of this development. While there are no exact figures indicating the extent of employee stock-ownership, it is estimated that about 6,500,000 manual workers own about 6,000,000 shares of stock of the companies by which they are employed, representing a total value of approximately \$5,000,000,000.

The mere enumeration of the multifarious welfare activities established largely during the last decade demonstrates the enormous advance of this policy. Employers no longer limit their welfare work to better sanitary conditions, safety, and workmen's compensation, but are also adopting extensive recreational programs, comprising a variety of athletic activities, social clubs, libraries, musical and dramatic entertainments, noon concerts, dances, picnics and the like.

Employers are even beginning to provide medical attendance for the wives and dependents of employees. One shoe com-

pany, for instance, maintains a staff of 33 physicians and surgeons, 65 permanent nurses, and gives complete medical and surgical services as well as hospitalization when necessary to all workers and their families without charge. This company spent a total of about \$1,200,000 on its welfare work, representing about 6 per cent. of its total annual payroll.

Many concerns now provide vacations with pay even for their non-salaried workers, restaurants (often run at a loss to the company) or wholesome lunches served entirely free, loans, housing bureaus, sanatoria for the tubercular, and legal advice. Some even distribute Christmas and birthday gifts. Says the President of one concern: "We remember employes on their birthday by presenting to them a small gift, as also married employes on their wedding anniversaries, and in the case of single employes, their mothers." Other corporations help to buy coal and other products at wholesale or to establish cooperative stores where merchandise can be obtained at a lower rate. One Maine concern has already adopted the European policy of additional payments to employes with large families. Numerous firms also have emergency relief, unemployment benefit funds, anniversary premiums, attractive and advantageous savings plans. In many of the savings plans the company deducts the savings from wages and deposits them to the employe's account, thus relieving him of any responsibility. In one instance, such savings, up to 10 per cent. of the employes' wages, are compulsory. Education is sponsored by paying for courses of study which employes may undertake or by awarding scholarships to their children. Indeed, the variety of welfare plans runs the entire gamut from those just described to garages for the employes' cars, tailor and jewelry shops as well as country clubs.

Does welfare work make for industrial peace and stability? Let us note the industries in which industrial welfare work has especially spread, and the figures on strikes and lockouts as tabulated by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics since 1916. Our study of the 1,500 industrial establishments shows that the more important welfare practices have spread

rapidly in the iron and steel industries, metal trades, transportation, public utilities, paper and publishing establishments, but have least developed in the textile and clothing industries, building trades and mining. The figures recorded by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics show that for the textile and clothing industries there were 488 industrial disputes in 1916, 491 in 1923 and 302 in 1924. In the case of the building trades the statistics on industrial disputes show a considerable increase from 1916 to 1921, a large decline in the unemployment year of 1922 and a total of 267 in 1924, as against 394 in 1916. The records indicate that strikes and lockouts in these three industries fluctuate from year to year and show little tendency to stability. Peace in them depends much more upon the prosperity and conditions of the industry, and factors of internal organization have but little importance.

A different picture is revealed by the industries having highly developed welfare practices. In the case of iron and steel, except for the year 1919, when the great steel strike occurred, the number of labor disputes shows a steady decline from 72 in 1916 to 10 in 1923 and 7 in 1924. Metal trades point a steady fall of industrial disturbances since 1920, numbering but 111 in 1923 and 57 in 1924, as against 452 in 1920 and 547 in 1916. In transportation the decrease is from 343 disputes in 1917 to 30 in 1923 and 18 in 1924. In paper manufacturing these controversies fell from 54 in 1916 to 19 in 1923 and 12 in 1924.

THE ANTHRACITE TROUBLE

The conspicuous absence of this new spirit of industrial relationship in the anthracite field may perhaps throw some light upon the recent strike, characterized not only by its length and bitterness, but by a display of trade union solidarity such as had never been witnessed in the United States. Industrial welfare activities are practically unknown in the anthracite field. Their crude methods of warfare have recently been noted by President Coolidge when he declared that the industry "seems never to have accepted modern methods of adjusting differences between employers and employes."

These facts can be interpreted variously by different writers. But it is worth noticing that the period of the major development of industrial welfare plans coincides closely with the steady decrease of all industrial disputes throughout the United States. For all industries these disputes fell from 4,450 in 1917 to 3,411 in 1920, 1,506 in 1923 and 1,227 in 1924. Is it not significant that this decline has been most marked in those industries where welfare plans have especially spread?

Labor leaders are not unaware of the direct bearing of modern welfare plans upon the present status of the American labor movement. Intelligent organizers are convinced that as long as these plans continue to increase, their union programs will be of little avail. Wherever welfare schemes have been established the men are increasingly more difficult to hold in the organization. A canvass just made of forty international officers of the various unions in the United States discloses a unanimous apprehension on the part of these labor leaders in regard to industrial welfare. With hardly an exception they are violently opposed to it. The Grand President of one union is convinced that "nothing but evil results to the employes through these very schemes." A well-known President of a union, who is also a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, believes that "so-called industrial welfare is always intended to lull into inactivity the resentment of the worker against low wages and longer work days," while another high officer of a large building trades organization expresses violent opposition to these schemes because "such activities are absolutely reactionary and retard the progress and elevation of the workers and society." The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen at its last convention adopted a resolution condemning all such practices and declaring that:

Any member of this brotherhood who writes or in any way whatsoever engages in the solicitation of business for group insurance for railroad companies, shall, upon trial and conviction under our laws, be expelled from all benefits including the Beneficiary Department.

At a meeting held in Washington in July, 1925, the executives of the railroad labor organizations adopted resolutions

censuring employer's group insurance as subversive to the labor movement. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its last convention rendered similar judgment against these practices.

The opinions of employers, with but isolated exceptions, are solidly in favor of welfare plans. The leaders of industry find these schemes of great benefit not only to themselves but to their employes as well. True, one textile employer who had adopted group insurance does not feel that "it has ever been appreciated." The controller of one of the largest textile concerns in the United States also reports that they have given up their welfare work because "in operating the sick benefit arrangement we received frequent reports from the insurance adjusters that absence from work was being encouraged by the employes' expectation of sick benefits." But for each one of these there are a dozen concerns who have "no doubt as to the benefits derived * * * through having healthier, better satisfied workmen and families." Numerous establishments feel "that our labor turnover is less and that 'the big family' feeling is much more evident" since the introduction of welfare practices. Most corporations which have adopted these activities find that they "result in a decidedly different attitude on the part of employes who heretofore believed they received but very little consideration"; that they "point a way for real personal respect and understanding and as the beginning of an era of industrial harmony, happiness and success both for the employes and the company." They are convinced that welfare plans act as a check upon labor turnover, materially reduce industrial troubles and that attempts to organize their workers invariably fail.

RESULTS OF WELFARE WORK

It is obvious that a new industrial order is evolving and growing at an accelerating rate. Even the more reluctant employers will soon be compelled to join the procession of welfare schemes. From the contentions of labor leaders and the testimony of employers, it is clear that these plans tend to undermine the very basis of the American labor move-

ment as it exists today; that the employee is constantly and increasingly drawn away from labor unions and driven closer to the industrial leadership. While labor leaders are merely "against it," or are attempting to establish competitive schemes, managements are constantly going ahead enlarging and developing their industrial welfare plans. Consequently, the welfare of the workers, for better or worse, to an extent that has never been known before, is constantly becoming more and more dependent upon the good-will, success and prosperity of the particular industry in which they are engaged.

These conclusions are of supreme significance. Admittedly, in relieving cases of utter distress, these welfare schemes are certainly accomplishing beneficent results. One must remember, however, that despite all its weaknesses and ignorance there has come an inestimable amount of good from the American labor movement. The contributions it made to our present protective social legislation cannot be disputed. The labor movement has not only been a magnificent elevating factor in raising the intellectual level of its members through its democratic organizations, but has actually been the most active force in promoting our entire free educational system and in the advancement of a more enlightened citizenship. No one questions that it has been largely responsible for the eight-hour day and our high standard of living.

Should present conditions continue to undermine the basis for a labor movement, what will be its meaning to America and American ideals? Can one picture a highly developed industrial nation such as ours without a powerful labor body to keep it in balance? How enlightening are the recent admonitions of Prime Minister Baldwin to the British employers who had hoped to utilize the collapse of the general strike as a means of crushing the labor unions:

I cannot imagine that there will be an attack on the trade unions as a whole. There would be no greater disaster than that. It would be impossible to carry on unless you had these organizations which can speak for and bind parties on both sides. If you did not, you would have sporadic outbreaks far more difficult to deal with and far more interrupting to ordinary industry.

If the industrial organizations of the

workers should be eliminated, what would it mean to our traditional ideas of sturdy Americanism? If the state paternalism of European countries is often characterized as un-American and contrary to the ideals of our fathers, what must be said of the benevolent paternalism of industrial managers? What guarantee is there that the liberal employer's belief in high wages and increased production will maintain our comparatively high standard of living? What may be the effect upon individual thrift when more and more workers are coming to rely upon their employers, not only for their savings, but also for the protection of those near and dear to them. There are already instances of employes canceling their individual insurance policies, either because they are satisfied with the employer's insurance, or, when such are carried on a contributory basis, because they cannot afford the cost of both policies. What if an industrial depression should make it impossible for employers to finance the present welfare plans or to continue to pay the high wages? Already many concerns which have adopted formal pension plans find their rising cost increasingly more difficult to bear, while others had to abandon their welfare programs because of bad business conditions. What if the shares of stock which employes are so enthusiastically encouraged to purchase and glorified as the "New Economic Revolution" should fall in the next business slump?

If left without any powerfully organized body to protect their interests, what methods may the disillusioned employes use to regain their positions? Let us speculate on what might have happened if the recent anthracite strike, characterized by not a single overt act, had not been conducted by an orderly union and experienced leaders? Indeed, what becomes of democracy when not only your job but your entire welfare as well as that of your family depends more and more upon industries in which management and ownership are constantly becoming wider and wider apart? What of the future of America, with its workers isolated and dependent and without any organization of their own to guide their actions, control and give outlet to their emotions?

The World-Wide Problems of Over-Population

By EDWARD MURRAY EAST

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THE daily bulletin of world statistics reads 150,000 births, 100,000 deaths. Whatever the number of souls on earth today, there will be 50,000 more tomorrow, counting the doubtful cases. This is the measure of the human flow. By this figure do those who enter exceed the sum of those who take their leave. Thus, in spite of plagues, wars and famines, the race goes steadily and stolidly on, piling up its numbers. At this writing the total is approximately 1,850 millions; at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century it was less than half as large.

Due to industrial progress and to the availability of huge blocks of previously untilled land, natural increase of population has probably been greater during the last two generations than at any time during the whole of history. Minor events like the World War, the influenza epidemics, and mass starvation in China have caused no marking of time; the movement has changed momentarily from allegro to adagio, that is all. During the latter part of this period, truly enough, there has been a fairly general decline in the birth rate of the white variety of our species; but thus far this phenomenon has not resulted in a greatly diminished surplus, for the death rate has also declined.

Yet this queer state of affairs cannot continue indefinitely, since the death rate can hardly go below a figure that would give an average length of life of about sixty-five years, although the birth rate might conceivably fall to zero. All signs, therefore, point to a lower rate of white increase in the near future. Will the drop come from a foresight which avoids the strenuous struggle for existence attendant upon high population pressure, or because

struggle is accepted as inevitable? The second decision has been made by the yellow and the brown men. During the last two decades their population increase has almost vanished; in face of a continuously high birth rate a mounting death rate has gradually reduced the surplus.

Whether or not this course of events is a reason for congratulation or for lamentation, it is at least a matter upon which no one should remain in ignorance, for if any one thing is certain, it is that the population problem is inextricably intertwined with all governmental and sociological enigmas. And we have heard a great deal about this problem recently. Much ink has flowed to vindicate the feeling that current population growth is a menace to human happiness. A like amount has blackened pages devoted to warnings against this terrible declining birth rate.

What are the facts? In so far as one may generalize on a subject where many variables come into play, the facts are these: Every country is increasing its population about as fast as the economic resources of the land and the inherent ability and cultural development of the people permit.

Asia, the cradle of the human race and home of the most persistent high civilization the world has known, might be expected to carry high population densities wherever the soil is reasonably fertile. But precise statistics regarding human life are difficult to obtain for Asia. Small account is made of such a cheap commodity.

Japan is the only Eastern nation having a satisfactory registration system. This fact is itself an indication of Japan's conversion to the religion of efficiency and therefore of her ability to support a huge

population. The last census, 1920, put the total population of the mainland at 56,000,000, with an annual increase of 13 per thousand, quite a remarkable figure for a country consisting of only 148,756 square miles. The estimate for 1923, which is the last one available, is 60,000,000 for the empire proper and 81,000,000 when all dependencies are included. The Japanese death rate has remained very close to 22.5 per thousand for the last quarter of a century. And the birth rate trend is unique in that it points slightly upward, a matter that is beginning to worry other Governments than the one seemingly concerned. In 1923 the birth rate was 34.9 and the death rate 22.7.

CHINA'S 350,000,000 POPULATION

For China there are no precise census figures. The estimate made by the postal authorities early in 1926 was 436,000,000, but a careful study of the situation leads me to believe that this computation is at least 50,000,000 too high. Most statisticians hold to a figure of about 350,000,000, with a very low, perhaps negligible, rate of increase. In a few studies of restricted areas the birth rate is placed at between 40 and 45 per thousand, with a death rate that nearly balances the ledger. The infant mortality appears to be about 50 per cent. In favored localities there are great population gains. In Hong Kong, for example, Li Ting-an of the Peking Union Medical College has calculated a corrected death rate of 27.5 for 1922. Such a death rate would insure a natural increase of population of at least 12 per thousand. But these gains are presumably balanced by periodic losses in famine-stricken and disease-stricken areas.

During the past generation fairly accurate figures have been available for India, chief home of the brown race. They illustrate the operation of the Law of Malthus in an extraordinary way. Three census reports are available for British territory with comparable areas. In 1901 there were 231,610,000; in 1911 there were 243,930,000; in 1921 there were 247,000,000. Note the diminishing natural increase. The effect of the struggle shows up even more strikingly when the population of the na-

tive States is added to that for British India. The census for 1911 was 315,160,000 and for 1921 was 318,940,000. India added 3,780,000 to the population in ten years, a rate of 1.2 per thousand annually. Lothrop Stoddard estimated the "rising tide" of brown peoples at about 12 per thousand annually, ten times as high as it really is. About two-thirds of the total population of India is now under birth and death registration. The last figures available are those for 1921, listing a birth rate of 32.2 and a death rate of 30.6. Infant mortality accounts for between one-fourth and one-third of these deaths.

If this is not a sufficient example of the effects of population pressure, there is Java, another brown man's country. Java and Madura, with an area of only 50,745 square miles, have grown from a mere handful of natives to a country with 36,000,000 people in a little over a century. There is now an annual increase of about 5 per thousand, where at the peak of progress there was an increase of between 16 and 20 per thousand. Java has been a veritable treasure house to Holland. It is hardly so today. The people are now so numerous that Dr. W. S. Thompson estimates that it takes ten Javanese to produce sufficient surplus to support one Dutchman.

Let us now take a glance at Europe, a continent not so densely populated as Asia, but still one in which population pressure is beginning to tell. If it were not for the fact that European countries possess vast colonies and have been welcomed as settlers to the United States, they would be in a serious condition. As matters stand today, no one who examines the census records can doubt that the rapid increase of population is at the basis of their political disorders. True, population pressure is only one of the factors at work causing trouble, but it unquestionably is an important factor. No doubt efficient governments could provide properly for all the people now within European boundaries; but each unit looks to the future, a future with more and more people, and each unit naturally hopes to wield more power because of these prospective citizens.

Of Russian population conditions we know very little. The old Empire com-

prised one-seventh of the land area of the globe, 8,417,118 square miles. In 1915 it had a population of 182,000,000, having just a little more than quadrupled its numbers during the preceding century. Today the total area of the Soviet Union is 7,041,120 square miles. It is reported as housing 132,000,000 people in 1923. One hears of very low birth rates and high death rates in the large cities. Diminishing populations are advertised. But one should be wary of believing that such changes in custom could take place in twelve years in a nation composed largely of uneducated peasants who, just before the war, boasted a birth rate of 46 per thousand and thus excused a death rate of 30 per thousand. If territorial changes and war losses are duly considered, it is quite likely that Russia has been increasing her numbers for the past five years.

EUROPEAN RATES OF GROWTH

One may judge with some degree of accuracy as to what is happening in Russia by affairs in surrounding countries.

Reconstituted Poland took a census in 1921 which yielded a figure of 27,000,000. Nothing accurate is known of her rate of increase, but the birth rate is said to be about 40 and the death rate about 24. Enlarged Rumania had a little over 17,000,000 people in 1919. Old Rumania had a birth rate of 42.1 and a death rate of 26.1 in 1913. In 1922 the birth rate was 37.2 and the death rate 22.8. Similarly, Bulgaria, a country now with 5,000,000 people, which in pre-war days had a birth rate of about 41 and a death rate of about 24, exhibited a birth rate of 36.5 and a death rate of 20.6 in 1923. Birth rates have dropped, but falling death rates have kept the natural increase nearly constant.

As one moves westward, however, the

situation gradually changes. With a few exceptions the birth-rates are falling to a point where growth becomes slower and still slower in spite of lowered death-rates.

In Norway the birth-rate has fallen from 25.4 in 1913 to 21.7 in 1924. The death-rate dropped from 13.2 to 11.1 during the same period. The natural increase, therefore, has fallen from 12.2 to 10.6 in this eleven-year stretch. In Finland the 1913

figures were birth-rate 27.1 and death-rate 16.1; the corresponding 1923 figures were 23.7 and 13.8, respectively. Denmark is in about the same situation, the natural increase in population has dropped from 13.1 to 10.6 in the decade previous to 1924. Sweden had already reached a low figure in 1913. With a birth-rate of 23.2, she had a natural increase of 9.5. In 1924 Sweden had the lowest birth-rate in Europe, 18.1, but even this low rate was sufficient to give an increase over deaths of 6.1 per thousand of the population.

We now come to consider the trend of population among the Central Powers. In pre-war days they had high birth-rates.

Hungary, the least highly civilized, had the highest rate of multiplication; Austria was second; Germany the lowest. I have before me charts of the vital statistics of the three countries from 1896 to the beginning of the war. In each case the birth-rates and death-rates decline steadily in practically parallel lines, thus keeping the natural increase of population almost constant. And the last is first, so to speak. Germany, with the lowest birth-rate, averaged nearly 14 per thousand increase; Hungary and Austria, more efficient at reproduction, have been less efficient at survival, the average of both being a little over 11 per thousand.

It is true that Austria and Hungary had the opportunity of keeping up their pop-



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ulation increase over a longer period than Germany, for at the beginning of the war the birth-rates of the three countries were about 31, 35 and 28, respectively. But this is not what happened. In all three countries the birth-rates dropped proportionately. In 1913 Germany had a birth-rate of 27.6 and a surplus of 12.6. In the four years from 1921 to 1924 the birth-rates were 25.3, 22.8, 20.9 and 20.4, respectively, with natural increases for the same years of 11.3, 8.5, 7.0 and 8.2. Hungary in 1921, 1922 and 1923 exhibited birthrates of 27.9, 29.4 and 28.4, with death-rates which resulted in natural increases of 8.6, 8.6 and 9.2. Austria fell still lower. Her natural increase for the same three years was 6.0, 5.5 and 7.0 as the result of birth-rates 22.9, 22.7 and 22.3.

In passing, it is interesting to note the comparison between the two Low Countries in population increase for the years 1921 to 1924, inclusive. Holland, a Protestant country, had annual increases of 16.3, 14.5, 16.1 and 15.3, as great as any in Europe, although the birth-rates were only 27.4, 25.9, 26.0 and 24.9. Belgium, a Catholic country, showed natural increase rates of 8.2, 6.5, 7.4 and 7.1 for the same years from birth-rates of 21.9, 20.4, 20.4 and 19.9.

The chief countries of the Allies, Great Britain and France, are still growing, but the rate has diminished. The United Kingdom is tending to a stationary population, as the following table shows:

COUNTRY.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.
England and Wales birth-rate	22.4	20.6	19.7	18.8
England and Wales natural increase.....	10.3	7.7	8.1	6.6
Scotland birth-rate.....	25.2	23.5	22.8	21.9
Scotland natural increase	11.6	8.6	9.9	7.5
Ireland birth-rate.....	20.6	19.9	20.6	20.7
Ireland natural increase	6.0	5.4	6.9	5.9

England has now as low a birth rate as France, but still keeps up a higher rate of increase than Ireland.

THE FRENCH BIRTH RATE

France has worked up a great deal of emotion over her birth rate. But as a matter of fact it is now as high as it was for several years before the war, varying but slightly from the figures 20 to 21. The death rate is about 18, rather high, but not

so high as most people suppose, since France is a country of old people and her crude death rates do not reflect her true death rates any more than do the abnormally low death rates of the newer countries, where the young are in excess. The trend of France is probably best shown by a comparison of actual surplus of births over deaths:

Year.	Surplus of Births Over Deaths.
1913.....	58,914
1920.....	159,790
1921.....	117,023
1922.....	70,579
1923.....	94,871

In addition to a continuous slow growth, a growth warranted by increased economic efficiency, France is taking the doubtful course of trying to allay war fears by promoting immigration. In 1923 and 1924 the surplus of immigrants over emigrants, largely made up of Italians, totaled about 500,000.

Two other important countries of Europe remain, Spain and Italy. The Spanish birth rate is almost constant at 30.2 per thousand, and results in a natural increase of population of about 9.5 per thousand. Spain thus has as rapid a population increase as she can stand, for the country is backward both agriculturally and commercially. In fact the growth of Spain is greater than when the birth rate stood at about 36 during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Italy is increasing by about 400,000 people each year. The birth rates for 1921, 1922 and 1923 were 30.4, 30.0 and 29.3, respectively—just a hint of decrease. The natural increase for each year was very constant at about 12.8 per thousand. With this tremendous growth in a country provided with no coal or iron, it is easy to see why Mussolini rattles the sword and tells other nations what, when and how they must provide for Italian emigrants.

In the new world to the east, Australia and New Zealand, rapid growth continues, but it continues on the inertia of past growth. The Australian birth rate was 28.2 and the death rate 10.7 in 1913. Ten years later the rates were 23.2 and 9.5, respectively. New Zealand showed a birth rate of 26.1 and a death rate of 9.5 in 1913. At the end of a decade the rates were 21.9

and 9.0. The death rate of New Zealand in 1924 was 8.3, the lowest the world has ever seen. One must not be deceived by these figures, however. A death rate of even 10 per thousand annually cannot be continued, for this would mean an average life of a century. Such death rates can appear only in new countries largely peopled by vigorous youths. Australia and New Zealand are really small plots of ground agriculturally, large as the former may appear on the map. A diminishing growth rate must come to them soon, and the presage of this shows in the turn of the birth rate.

Of Africa one can say little. The black men are increasing slowly, the white settlers rapidly. What will occur during the next century is not to be told today. If the interior proves hospitable to white settlement, one may look for huge developments; if it cannot be exploited by Caucasian industry, it will probably remain *in statu quo*.

In the Western World, things are changing rapidly. South America is the great treasure house and people are speeding there to seek its riches. In the West and Northwest, growth is not rapid. Chile, with a birth rate of 39.0, shows an increase of only 8 per thousand on account of her preeminence in infant mortality. Uruguay and Argentina begin to show decreasing birth-rates. The Uruguayan birth-rate has dropped from 31.8 to 25.4 between 1913 and 1923, yet even at the lower rate her annual natural increase is 14. Argentina, as might be expected, since her territory is in the last great block of unexploited temperate soil, is the most rapidly growing nation of the world. Yet even in Argentina the growth rate diminishes. In 1913 the birth rate was 37.2 and the death rate 15.9. In 1921, the last available figures, the rates were 32.6 and 15.5, respectively. The two rates of increase thus illustrated were 21.3 and 17.1. Both are perfectly tremendous; nevertheless there is a drop. Brazil nearly doubled in population between the censuses of 1900 and 1920. The one showed 17,319,000 people, the other 30,639,000 people. Her vital statistics are unknown. If she can ever open up her tropical lands, which form

nine-tenths of the whole, her growth will be tremendous.

North American countries south of the Rio Grande are growing rather slowly. Countries need efficiency for expansion, and between the Isthmus and the Great River efficiency is an unknown word.

Canada is still growing rapidly, but one sees a slowing-up process portended in the near future. The birth rate for 1923 was 26.7, and while this gave a natural increase of 15.4 for the year, it should be noted that Catholic Quebec (1922) had a birth rate of 35.0 while the rest of the country (1923) had a birth rate of only 23.3. This is as it should be. The population of the Dominion is now over 9,000,000, and the country is certainly not over one-fifth the size of the United States agriculturally, no matter how large it may loom on a Mercator map.

TREND IN THE UNITED STATES

Finally, we come to the United States. How is this collection of Commonwealths progressing? Much as should be expected. The curves Pearl and Reed have fitted to the census figures of the past are interpreted by them as presaging a stationary population of 200,000,000 within a century. If these curves give a true idea of population trends, the country passed the mid-point in her course about fifteen years ago. From 1910 on growth should diminish. There are now about 115,000,000 in Continental United States and immigration is restricted. The country must depend largely on natural increase if growth is to continue. Quota and non-quota immigration will probably continue to mount to over 300,000 a year, but probably this is a minor matter as regards growth. Many statisticians hold that immigration does not promote growth. From Benjamin Franklin to Francis Walker, students of demography have inclined to the view that there will be just as many people in a country in a given period if immigration is prohibited as there would be if immigration were unrestricted. It is barely possible that such a conclusion is borne out in the rise in our natural increase in 1924.

There has been a continuous decline in the birth rate in the United States, a decline that presumably has been going on

for nearly a century. Our registration area for the past three years has contained over 70 per cent. of the population, and ought to give figures which are essentially correct for the whole country. They are as follows:

Year.	Birth Rate.	Death Rate.	Natural Increase Rate.
1922.....	22.5	11.9	10.6
1923.....	22.4	12.4	10.0
1924.....	22.6	11.8	10.8

In analyzing these figures, one must remember that the birth-rates and death-rates for the colored populations are about 26.3 and 17.7 respectively (1923 figures). Furthermore, the birth-rate, and probably also the death-rate, for the foreign born, is greater than that for the native born. At the same time it is also to be noted that such fragmentary studies as have been made show a decided drop in the birth-rates for native born who are the children of foreign born. I hazard the guess, therefore, though there is no exact proof, that the birth rate for native white stock is about 20.5 per thousand. I also make a second guess, from studying the census data concerning young children, that the half of our white population living in the rural districts where the stock is over 80 per cent. North European of old vintage, has a birth-rate fully one per thousand higher than the city-born native stock which is largely a second generation product of recent immigration.

I have set down the recent trends of population with very little comment. The

data were obtained from official sources, the United States Bureau of Census, the Registrar General of England, the *Statistiques Générales of France*, and the *Statesman's Yearbook*. They are believed to be accurate. The reader's reaction to them, whether apprehension or delight, will depend upon his interests, his emotions and the breadth of his knowledge of world economics.

The rapid population increase of the nineteenth century begins to show signs of diminishing. Nevertheless, with the possible exception of the United States, each country is increasing as rapidly as possible when all the factors limiting such increase are given due weight. The United States is perhaps tending toward a stationary population more rapidly than seemed probable a decade ago. Perhaps here alone will the population be stabilized at somewhere near the optimum. Many of the older countries of Europe are increasing faster than the housing facilities warrant, even when one considers both homeland and colonies. Others are making efforts, whether consciously or not, to fit their populations to their agricultural facilities.

It is well to keep these things before our minds. In the first decade of the twentieth century Germany was the danger spot of Europe. Her growth was too rapid. Today this possibility has been eliminated by the decreased birth-rate of the new German Republic. Italy takes her place. Tomorrow, or the next day, Russia will replace Italy.



Ellen Key's Ideals of Love and Marriage

By NANCY M. SCHOONMAKER

Lecturer, writer, and student of the Woman's Movement in Europe and America

WITH the passing of Ellen Key, who died at her home in the south of Sweden on April 25, 1926, there is brought vividly to mind again the contribution which this woman was privileged to make to the thought of her age. The seventy-seven years of her life fell in a time when great currents of progress and change were sweeping over the world. Born in an age and country in which the reactionary forces were altogether dominant, before such forces had even been made fully articulate by resisting such opposition as later massed against them for their eventual overthrow, she lived to see laws and customs and the thought of the world liberalized to an almost incredible extent.

In her young girlhood, if she had cared to look into the matter—as perhaps she did—she would have discovered, for instance, that the laws governing marriage were so entirely one-sided and unjust to woman that at least one illustrious Swedish gentleman of her acquaintance chose a common-law marriage rather than ask his life companion to subject herself to the humiliating conditions of the legal ceremony. She lived to see her country so modify its laws governing this institution, marriage, divorce, property rights, guardianship of dependent children, illegitimacy, as to deserve the distinction of carrying perhaps the best such laws in the world. She lived to see woman emerge into full political equality; she lived to see the child escape from the injustices of repression into a larger freedom of development; she lived to see her world and ours, both given more or less openly to the conviction that the legal, the proprietary and the other social conveniences were the essentials in determining the morality of an erotic relationship, come into a new consciousness of love and love alone as the single moral motivating force back of marriage.

In all the movements looking to these changes Ellen Key had a part. It was in

the early years of such reforms when those who led were called upon to endure criticism and contempt. Of these Ellen Key was given her full share. On one occasion at least this criticism and contempt poured upon her from within the woman movement when she gave utterance to what seemed at the time a sudden reversion to the old doctrine of restricted womanhood. But so far has the world progressed that, before her death, Ellen Key rather suffered our neglect because she had begun to seem almost old-fashioned.

Her slant toward liberalism came as a family heritage. It was an ancestor seven generations back, Lieut. Col. James McKey, Scotch in spirit and pronunciation, who, at the close of the Thirty Years War, migrated to Sweden. For three generations the family kept the "Mc." For twice as many generations they made their mark upon the life of their times. In the record of them there breaks out again and again evidence that the strain is rich and fertile. Squires, statesmen, judges, warriors, men of esthetic and literary gifts step through the pages of Ellen Key's background. And the high-bred Swedish wives which the Scotch McKeys took unto themselves brought their gift also to the blend. The women of the family no less than the men seem to have been marked by originality of thought, strength of conviction, courage of expression. It was Ellen Key's great-great-grandmother who was a champion of women's rights. It was Ellen Key's own mother, with royal blood in her veins, who entirely shared the liberal opinions of her husband, who gave the keenest sympathy and insight to his undertaking to found a new agrarian party, who followed with deepest comprehension his work as a member of the Riksdag and who early saw in her daughter the promise of unusual ability.

The liberal opinions of her parents were partly responsible for the extreme simplicity of the home in which Ellen grew up

with her brothers, one of whom was christened George Washington Key, in honor of a certain distant hero whom these wide-visioned parents saw and recognized. Every available penny of the family income was being poured into the venture of liberal political organization, but never to the point of depriving the family of books, books of all kinds, esthetic, philosophical, literary, with which the house overflowed. There was also intimate association with the notable men of the time.

In her early girlhood Ellen Key was the intimate companion of her father; a few years later she acted as his secretary. She thought of this association always as one rich in significance and opportunity for her. When her father's plans for political reform failed, carrying down with them the bulk of his estate, it became necessary for Ellen to seek self-support. She left the country which she loved so deeply and found a position in a liberal school in Stockholm. In many ways this association was a pleasant one for her, and she remained in the school for nineteen years. It was a work for which by nature and by training she was well fitted, for back of the intellectual life which she had always lived was what amounted to a passionate devotion to children. But for all that, these years of teaching were not entirely happy ones. She was oppressed by city life, homesick for the country in which she had been brought up, and tormented also by the urge to write. There was also a religious crisis to be lived through. She had been trained to too great intellectual freedom and activity to find blind faith an easy matter. In the process of seeking to establish God upon a foundation of reason she lost her way and passed into a period of complete agnosticism. Her faith in a personal God never came back, but she did return to a recognition of the Deity as the force beneficent and all-wise, not to be measured and bound by the human intelligence, but to be fully trusted and worshipped as the guiding principle of all life.

During these years as a teacher she began also to lecture, at first before groups of working women upon political subjects; and later, as her reputation grew, before all manner of audiences. A Socialist in politics, she found herself also linked up with

various liberal movements, among them the women's organizations. But her allegiance was no mere blind following. It was at a meeting of the Woman's Congress in Copenhagen in 1896 that she attacked the ruling ideals of the suffrage movement. Choosing for her subject "The Abuse of Woman's Strength," she charged the suffragists with forgetting the claims of woman as a sex being; she criticized the indiscriminate rush into men's occupations, and exalted the maternal function as the sole legitimate work for woman. To the women assembled to listen to her it seemed an absolute reversion to all that against which they were fighting. It was heresy of the blackest sort. She was throwing the weight of her influence not for them but against them. At that period in Ellen Key's development there is no doubt that woman was reacting sharply against the whole domestic function and occupation and saw freedom and individuality as to be secured only outside the home, in the wage-earning, professional world.

The criticism which she received at that time affected Ellen Key profoundly. Shortly afterward she resigned from the school, went to live in Germany and gave herself more and more to writing. Though she never retracted from her position that marriage and motherhood is for woman the supreme expression, we find her at pains to make clear that this conviction did not at all interfere with her desire to see woman come into educational and political and economic freedom. But her attack upon the suffrage movement at the time when that movement so greatly needed her support was not easy to forgive. Among the older Scandinavian suffragists she remained even to the time of her death the "wise fool."

BOOKS ON WOMAN'S POSITION

Ellen Key came late to her literary maturity. In Germany, at the age of 54, she began the series of essays which were later to make up her first book. One has only to glance at the titles of these essays and books to find the key to her chief interests. "Love and Marriage," "The Woman Movement," "The Morality of Women," "The Century of the Child," "Renaissance of Motherhood," "The Younger Generation,"

"Love and Ethics," show her mind playing more and more around the problem of woman's ideal place in an ideal world.

In her writing, just as in her speaking, she found herself driven always to a merciless expression of all the light that was in her. She did not know how to compromise, to play for popularity, to say what seemed to her half truths. It seemed to be a matter in which her own personal honor was involved. She could not stop short of the last step. She seemed compelled to carry to its last end the development of any precept which she accepted and laid down. It is the habit of mind of the scientist, and turned upon physical, chemical facts it carries, in these modern times, no offense. We exact no denials from our modern Galileos. But Ellen Key was delving into social problems; she was turning the sharp light of her logic upon such uncharted, in-the-air matters as love; she was looking at marriage not from the established point of view of accepted morality and law, but from some new angle. Deeply concerned with what she called the erotic happiness of the individual—not because she loved the individual to the hurt of society, but because she believed that society, the race, could only thus gain its best service from the individual, she was looking at the whole sex relationship with judicial, unbiased coldness. And the alarming thing was that she was asserting, not that it was something outside the law, but that the man-made law concerning the sex relationship was often enough directly at variance with the deeper law of nature or God, as one chooses to call it, which lies back of the reproductive process.

Starting with the premise that love and not law must be the moral determining motive, she drew her first corollary: Marriage is immoral without love; then the second: Love is moral without marriage. It was not that she counseled the common disregard of the legal marriage ceremony. But she felt that too much stress had been laid upon it, that it had been the cloak for too much immorality. She believed that the duty the individual owed to his love was his first and greatest duty, that individual love was "the most important factor in evolution, the deepest determining



ELLEN KEY
Swedish feminist and authoress

Keystone

force," "that not legitimacy but the quality of children must be the standard by which the morality of a union is measured," that out of such unions of love, whether or not with the benefit of clergy or law, would come the race of supermen and superwomen. "The woman of the future," she says, "the phrase charms like a song,"—the woman of the future and her child, begotten in love, through whom, she believed, would come the spiritual transformation of the world. In order to accomplish this world task, woman must be made free. She must have political rights, economic rights, not as an end in themselves, but as a means to better motherhood. And most of all she must have, wed or unwed, the right to her love and her child.

UNMARRIED MOTHER'S RIGHTS

Like the idealist she was, she threw this challenge at the world. She declared openly for the rights of the unmarried mother. It was this declaration which brought down upon her the harshest criti-

cism it was given her to endure. From all over the world rose the storm of protest. As she had before been charged with being against woman in her struggle for freedom, she was now declared to be against society, the home, the Bible, decency. But she stood firm upon the ground she had taken. Love and love alone can make any union moral. Marriage is immoral without love; love is moral without marriage. In book after book she elaborated this doctrine; year after year she went on talking about it until in our day we have come to feel that it is not after all a doctrine pregnant with power to overthrow society. Perhaps our alarm vanished when we discovered that it remained a theory, not generally put into practice; perhaps we saw that the emphasis needed to be put rather upon love *within* than *without* marriage.

At all events, in the later years of her life Ellen Key saw whatever of general condemnation there had been of herself and her theories settle back into appreciation and honor. Even her Government paid its tribute when it offered her the land upon which her villa stands, this built from the returns of her books which have been translated into many languages and sold all over the world. A more beautiful place could hardly have been found for one to

round out one's life. On the brow of a cliff, sloping down by jagged rocks to a great lake, "my sea," she called it, set round by great trees, she found days of quietness and peace. From every civilized country men and women made pilgrimages to her, sometimes to lay their personal problems before her, sometimes to offer her gifts and do her honor. Whoever came found always the warmest welcome, the sort of human affection that must express itself in the touch of her hand.

Great student of love and marriage though she was, it was never given her to know the love of a wife or of a mother. But it was something markedly akin to maternal love that she poured out upon the individual whom she touched and upon the world which she looked out upon. No one who has seen her there in her high home can ever forget the something noble in the poise of her head with its halo of white hair, the quiet strength of her shoulders, the intense vivid youthful interest which she kept to the last in all that the world was doing and thinking, and most of all her abiding faith in the wonder and goodness of life. "We who are now living and working," she said, "will soon be shadows. But our dreams are already moving with white feet in the light of the dawn."



A Nonagenarian Looks at Education

By WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL

Born at Romulus, N. Y., Feb. 14, 1833; President of the University of Minnesota, 1869-1907

IN a late letter a friend said he would like to know what a nonagenarian who had spent the best years of his life in educational work had to say about the progress of school education in his day and the present outlook through his eyes. To please him the following story is written:

Beginning with the primary schooling, the longest step taken under his observation was that which changed the district school supported by "a rate bill" collected of parents, according to the number of children they sent to the school, into full public schools supported by taxation. Horace Mann in Massachusetts somewhere in the 1840's proclaimed the radical doctrine that the schooling of the children of the State was or ought to be a lien on all the property of the State. The proposition was not promptly entertained in the Genesee country. Governor Seward risked his political fortunes in standing for a measure which would tax people for schooling other folk's children. The advance step was not taken till after the Irish famine and the continental revolutions of Europe in 1848 had flooded the country with immigrants whose numerous progeny needed Americanization. This reconciled the farmers and villagers to the "socialist" doctrine.

Those early district schools were good schools partly because of their limitations. Young farmers were the teachers in Winter. The short Summer terms for the small children were kept by young women of full age who liked a little income of their own. The school trustees examined applicants for the teaching positions often very informally, and passed on their qualifications. The annual school meeting at which the trustees were elected was an important date. The main stress, and it was heavy, was laid on the traditional "three R's," but some ambitious teachers lured

brighter pupils into geography and grammar. The intelligent native-born citizens understood, before President Eliot voiced it, that persons who could spell, read, write and cipher well were well educated. These were considered accomplishments, writing especially. The trustees, the minister and other patrons, frequently visited the school. Whole neighborhoods turned out to a spelling school. The unpainted school house, built often of green lumber, was ugly, but it was as comfortable as some of the log houses from which children came. The big boys and girls sat on long benches without backs in front of a sloping desk which ran round three sides of the one room. The small children sat on long settees, built by the carpenter, on either side of the heating stove. There was a small blackboard hinged to the ceiling which could be let down when needed for use, which was not often. The school grounds were unfenced lots without shade or drainage; but what more could be expected when half the county was still primeval forest? The tidy little red school house, mistakenly spoken of as primitive, with its separate desks and seats, came later.

Long after the "common school" had become public, that is tax-supported, further school education was left to private initiative and management, individual or corporate. In cities and larger villages there were "select schools" owned and conducted by the teacher. Some of them were preparatory schools for boys preparing for college, with their three years of Latin, two years of Greek, algebra to quadratics, plane geometry and little else. Select schools for girls were not so numerous and had no definite purpose. There were occasional rural select schools. One of them known to the writer was kept by Alexander McQuigg—nationality obvious—chiefly attended by young men and wo-

men intending to teach school. His was a true normal school long before "the Albany Normal" was thought of.

ACADEMIES AT COUNTY SEATS

For country and small village boys and girls who had to be "sent away to school" the county seat academies were the main and best resort. These were incorporated institutions managed by self-perpetuating boards of trustees. They raised money by subscription, erected and maintained buildings, bought furniture and, very sparingly, books and apparatus. The "principal" had a large discretion in selecting teachers and branches of studies to be offered. Aside from occasional gifts and endowments the income was tuition money collected from parents. The only regular course of studies was the preparatory course for boys going to college. Other pupils selected their studies from the meagre list detailed in the catalogue. If a majority of the trustees were of the same religious denomination they were likely to employ a principal of their church and give the school the character of a denominational institution, but pupils were welcomed from all churches, and rarely was any sectarian teaching attempted. If the Principal was a minister there would always be daily worship or scripture reading, hymn and prayer; in any case there was some religious observance. Some of the academies maintained primary departments for "curled darlings" thought too fine to be mixed with the common school herd. A few of them obtained more than a local reputation and drew students from beyond county lines. A good example is that of Canandaigua Academy with Noah Clark as principal for forty years.

Beside the county seat academies for boys and girls who had to leave home, were less numerous boarding schools for boys and "female seminaries" for girls; some ill-managed, were short lived; others well-conducted, lived long and a few survive to this day. Thus the early agencies of secondary education in America were select schools, academies, boys' boarding schools and female seminaries. The small amount of private instruction to

individual youth or small groups was negligible.

Now comes the question, How came it about that these agencies have mostly disappeared? As seen by one who observed the change, it took place in the following manner: When district schools became public, that is, tax-supported, cities and villages were divided into districts and schools established in each, all primary schools. It was not long before this arrangement proved uneconomical. Somewhere local officials began to concentrate all the schools of a town into one "union school." The union schools were, of course, "free," that is, supported by taxation. At length parents who had been sending grown-up children away at expense asked why the union school might not teach some higher branches. Parents who could afford to send them away asked the same question. The increase in taxes would be light. Principals and teachers in union schools were more than willing to have them advanced in usefulness and dignity. Under legislation increasing the taxes higher education in the union schools was also made free. The days of the academy were numbered and the union school became the high school of the village. Such was the transition in the East generally and in the Middle West. In some of the newer States the academy had but a short and precarious existence, and the high school appeared whenever population became sufficiently numerous. It was in the union schools that the grading of pupils became necessary; and that was a moment of capital importance in public education.

The establishment of the high school in every considerable community was a virtual recognition of "secondary education," a distinct period of instruction, to be raised on the foundation of the primary education of the district schools. But this recognition was mostly subconscious, and even today is but faintly realized by many. To speak of the high school as secondary to some higher kind of school and, therefore, inferior and subsidiary is a misuse of the word. Secondary schools second, that is, follow and enlarge upon the work of the primary schools.

After the public had become reconciled to the principle that primary education in the district schools was a proper lien on all property of the State, they had still to be fully convinced that secondary education was also a public obligation. Spokesmen of religious bodies declared that the State had no concern with schooling above the primary grades. Accordingly secondary education has not yet been widely recognized as a distinct epoch to be set apart for the instruction of youth, and appropriate schemes of studies have been but partially wrought out. Cooperating with ancient prejudice against innovations was the partial occupation of the secondary field by the colleges and universities, large and small, excessive in number, partly because religious denominations needed them for propaganda, and partly because ambitious young cities desired to have colleges, especially if named after the place, to attract population and boom business and real estate. In some Western States scores of colleges were founded before there were a half dozen high schools in existence. In Minnesota twenty-five colleges and universities were chartered before she became a State.

The colleges as places of study and prayer willingly invited the youth emerging from boyhood still impressionable, and held them in sequestered households under a school regime to establish them in the denominational faith and practice. The academies, therefore, did not expand, and secondary education, thus dispersed, was not recognized as a whole. The absurdity of the situation was not brought into daylight till our young men, going abroad for opportunities of instruction and research not offered at home, discovered in the gymnasia and lyceums of European countries secondary education as an integral part of an organized system of schooling, the middle term in a trinity of primary, secondary and superior schools.

An early promulgation of the principle was made by the writer in an inaugural address late in 1869. In the year following he proposed a plan for the organization of a State university, which included the relegation to the high schools of the work of the first two years carried by American colleges. The plan was adopted



DR. WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL
President of the University of Minnesota,
1869-1907

and for fifteen years was duly announced in annual catalogues and reports. It was approved in principle by a whole galley of college and university presidents: Porter of Yale, Hopkins of Williams, White of Cornell, Angell of Michigan, Read of Missouri, Chadbourne of Wisconsin, Gregory of Illinois. But "The Minnesota Plan" did not function. It was a harmless romance. The high schools did not respond to its appeal. The idea of secondary education, as a distinct epoch, was not caught up, and the time for its organization had not arrived. Forty years have run by and the high schools have not yet come to their own. They continue to release their pupils to be taken up by the colleges to go on with the studies in which they have made beginnings under a school regime for many months. It is more Latin, more algebra, more geometry, more elementary science and history.

The rush of students to State universities has overwhelmed them with numbers, the majority of whom do not reach graduation. In one of them a careful estimate has shown that eighty per cent. of the

teaching time is given to lower class men. But there is promise of a new day from an unexpected quarter, in the "junior college" movement. Some high schools under authority of law have expanded their instruction to embrace two years' work and thus relieve the congestion of the universities. Additional relief has been given by a considerable number of denominational colleges which have reduced or restricted their courses to two years' work, either because they have dwindled for lack of endowments or patronage, or have despaired of full college development.

THE "JUNIOR COLLEGE"

The title "junior college," though objectionable because it suggests subordination and inferiority, is likely to continue in use. It does not detract much from the prestige of a college and it adds much to that of the high school. The junior college idea is in the air; if any one doubts it let him get hold of Leonard Vincent Koos' volumes on the "Junior College." Already there are more than two hundred of them in existence in nearly forty States. In accord with an ancient understanding that the lower classes in American colleges were subsidiary, and to improve upon instruction and facilitate administration, a few universities have segregated their lower class men into a separate department with its own dean and faculty. This policy logically anticipates the multiplication of junior colleges and the complete relegation to them of lower class work. One American university has placed a landmark in the history of American education by becoming the first genuine undiluted university. Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, Md., under the lead of President Frank Goodnow, recently announced the discontinuance of its freshman and sophomore classes.

There is reason to hope that the junior college will, when developed, establish secondary education as the proper agency for the general cultural training of adolescents, whether they are looking forward to scholarship, to professional careers, to responsible positions in commerce and industry, to public service, or merely to leadership in community affairs.

The full development of secondary edu-

cation is justified for its own sake, and for that of the epochs between which it will function. There are, however, additional advantages which may have greater effect on communities where the establishment of a junior college may be waiting decision at the polls. The most obvious is the saving of money to parents who would like to have their sons and daughters continue general studies after the high school, but cannot afford to send them away to college. To hold the growing boys and girls during the precarious periods of their lives in the safe harbor of the home may be of greater import than mere saving of money. This suggestion will apply more fitly to girls and go far to simplify the still debatable question of co-education. More important perhaps is the better instruction and training the youth would enjoy under school discipline and parental control than is now given in lower classes in colleges. It is notorious that high school teaching is now generally better than college teaching.

Although the secularization of education has gone far, the State has not driven the Church from the field. The Church has never carried the burden of primary education to any considerable extent. The colleges proclaim themselves "Christian but not sectarian." Those which have grown into universities have ceased to be denominational, and are virtually secularized. It is in the secondary field, in the academies and seminaries, that the churches have been successful in holding youth under denominational influences; it has been there that they have recruited their postulants for the ministry and teaching. In the expanded field of secondary education the churches will find the best employment for their teaching talent. Each denomination in its junior colleges can maintain its own ritual and inculcate its distinctive doctrines at the very time when character and habits are forming.

NEED OF COORDINATION

So far as known none of the States in the union have organized consolidated systems of public instruction. The rural schools may perhaps be regarded as creations of law under constitutional require-

ments. High schools are municipal institutions, independent of State superintendence. Universities are corporate bodies with large but indefinite powers. The State aids but does not manage them. On this account an innovation made in Minnesota in 1878, probably the earliest experiment of the kind, is worth noting. In that year the Legislature passed an act creating a "High School Board" to administer a sum of money appropriated out of the treasury. The fund was distributed to high schools which would volunteer to admit pupils from outside their municipalities without charge for tuition, and prepare them for admission to the freshman class of the university. The plan worked well, has continued in operation and has sent from year to year an increasing tide of students to be admitted on their diplomas and school records. In the college year of 1925-1926 the University of Minnesota received more than 2,800 pupils from 434 high schools.

It is a convenience when discussing the question of junior colleges to speak of turning over the work of freshman and sophomore classes to them. The matter is not so simple. The whole field of the higher education needs survey and better distribution. The present extensive duplication of high school work by lower college classes should be eliminated. The question has been mooted whether by other eliminations, the time really necessary for secondary education might not be shortened by a full year. In particular the proposition has been made to cut out modern languages altogether, the best argument for such extrusion being that the time spent on them is virtually wasted. In a Western State university there were in one college year 1,473 students who took "German." Of course, the sections were crowded and the hours short. The instruction was as good as the circumstances permitted. But the opinion may be safely ventured that, leaving out some students of German parentage, not three per cent. of the whole lot could after two or three years of taking "German" read German prose without a dictionary at hand, converse two minutes in German on any serious subject, follow a sermon in German, or write a correct letter of fifty words. It is understood, of

course, that the great body of those students did not care so much for German as for the credits towards graduation. People who really care to learn a foreign language should resort to private teachers or special schools, or when possible live in families where the language is in actual use.

What then is to happen to the university when it shall be relieved of its burden of secondary instruction? One thing the university will not be, a school where large masses of students are grouped into classes, marching in lockstep, made to answer to roll calls, and to work for credit marks which will entitle them to diplomas. It is necessary here to distinguish between the central core of the university and the numerous professional and technical schools which have been of late years gradually and somewhat fortuitously grouped around it. These attachments are not essential parts of the university and are but loosely associated with it.

THE TRUE UNIVERSITY

The dominating stronghold, the university, towering above all her schools will be a place for "disinterested studies" (Vebien's phrase) in history, science and philosophy, for original research in all those fields, and for the publication to the world of important results. To the university will resort young men and women who have completed their secondary educations in the junior college, and desire to enlarge upon their attainments by intensive study, and possibly to contribute to the sum of human knowledge. They will there enjoy in its true sense the "academic freedom" appropriate to their stage of education. They will generally reside in the university town in order to have the use of the libraries, laboratories and other facilities. Each student will follow his own path and regulate his own gait. There will be no term of years of attendance nor any wholesale graduations. When any student desires a degree and thinks himself "ripe" for it, he will apply for an examination. If he passes it successfully the degree will be conferred. Degrees might well be dispensed with but for a certain social advantage and a presumption of competency

traditionally attending them. For these reasons they will long remain in vogue.

Herbert Spencer was right enough in saying that "we educate our children, as we dress them, in the prevailing fashion." Changes of fashion in education do not occur so frequently or move so rapidly as those of dress, but revolutions may take place in a few decades. When the non-agenarian was in college in the 1850's the classical course was still firmly seated, although President Francis Wayland of Brown University in his "Thoughts on the Collegiate System in the United States" had questioned its claim to perpetuity. The collegian then had no concern about what studies he would "take." "Ours, not to reason why." Full half of his time went to Latin, Greek and mathematics; a sixth to mental and moral philosophy, logic and political economy, all taught by one professor; another sixth to the natural and physical sciences, also taught by one professor; the residue to dabs of history and modern languages. Declamations and compositions were required of lower classmen, and essays and orations of the seniors and juniors. Religious instruction in such

books as the Greek Testament, Paley's "Evidences" and Butler's "Analogy" were slipped in on Monday mornings so that the lessons might be innocently got on Sunday. Attendance at chapel twice a day and at church twice on Sundays was exacted. A student monitor marked and reported the absentees. The college was simply a big boys' school. The ancient tradition that it was a place for study and prayer (*locus studendi et orandi*) still survived in sufficient strength to draw contributions from the faithful.

Before the century ended a revolution had begun to set up a new fashion, the "new education." The submergence of the classical course by the elective system with its sugar plum pedagogy, calls for another story. So also do the secularization of the colleges, the admission of women, and the multiplication of professional schools, especially the later ones in education, agriculture and business. Some future historian may find more valuable than all these in enriching our national life, the kindergarten, the consolidated rural school correspondence courses, university extension and early training in the fine arts.



A Good Word for Missionaries

By THOMAS JESSE JONES

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TO ridicule missionaries has long been a pastime of many people. Formerly the ridicule was largely limited to those who prided themselves on their irreligion. However, it was by no means limited to the so-called "ungodly," for the antagonists have been a varied company. Recently the number of critics has been increased by the new emphasis on the "self-determination" of races and peoples and by the resentment against the assertion of "Nordic superiority."

"Why Missionaries?" appears now in such varied forms as: "Is economic selfishness so pervasive as to eliminate efforts to transmit influences from one people to another? Must international relationships always take the form of political imperialism? Are racial conceits such as to exclude all racial exchanges? Must Christian dogmas disregard the elements of truth in the experiences of non-Christian religions? Can the standards of Western civilization be integrated with the ideals of Oriental life? Is the self-determination of races and nations incompatible with international altruism?" Thus it appears that the question "Why missionaries?" may involve such questions as: "Why international commerce? Why the international court? Why the League of Nations?"

But this discussion is concerned only with the question, "Why missionaries?" As the writer's first-hand observations of mission work have been principally in Africa and in connection with schools for negroes in America, the illustrations are largely drawn from those fields. It is believed, however, that the personalities and activities cited are typical of missionary approaches in other parts of the world. It is, of course, true that missionaries are a varied company. Some have been and still are queer. Some have been narrow and dogmatic. Some have been used by selfish exploiters. There have undoubtedly been about the same proportion of errors and failures in foreign missions as in the

schools, the churches, the Governments and the business organizations of Europe and America.

Among the well-known missionaries still working in Africa is Dr. Robert Laws of Livingstonia. This vigorous Scotchman of thorough education and first-rate ability entered the wild and unknown sections of Nyasaland in Central Africa over fifty years ago. At the time of his entrance the native people were subjected not only to the fears always associated with savagery and barbarism, but they were also harassed by the invasions of the all-conquering Zulu and by Arab slave raiders who systematically captured large numbers and forwarded them to the East coast. Disease, famine, witch doctors, tribal warfare and slave raids were all rampant in the oppression of the native people who were compelled to hide themselves in caves and other inaccessible places.

To these scenes of cruel savagery Laws and his missionary associates went prepared to help along all lines essential to sound tribal life. Laws was himself a university man with first-class training in medicine and theology. He had also a natural aptitude for administration and for mechanics and agriculture. By special study and practice in British industrial plants and by travel in Europe and America he acquired knowledge and skill in such activities as roadbuilding, forestry, quarrying, flour milling and the generation of electric light and power. His associates, both men and women, during the fifty years since his first entry into Central Africa, have been prepared to develop country and people in agriculture, industry, health, education, morals and religion.

While the Livingstonia Mission under Dr. Laws is one of the notable achievements of present work in Africa, practically every African colony has missionaries and mission organizations that have some or all of the features of work already described. In Belgian Congo the Jesuit

Fathers have eliminated sleeping sickness from their area and changed the wilderness into gardens and fields producing abundant harvests; the Southern Presbyterians and Methodists, the American and British Baptists, the Disciples Mission on the Equator and several smaller organizations are teaching the native people to make more effective use of the soil, to build better houses, to read and write, to care for body and mind and spirit. In the Portuguese colonies American and Canadian Congregationalists and Methodists have learned the native languages, studied the native manner of life and befriended the people. The missionaries of these colonies are now the most substantial hope for native development. In the French colonies numerous missions of various churches are valiantly helping in the education and general improvement of the natives. Through the active cooperation of the British Government, very numerous missions in the British colonies are rendering an increasingly large and vital service in education and civilization.

MISSIONS AND IMPERIALISM

Condemnation of missionaries by economic and political exploiters will be generally accepted as evidence in favor of mission influence. It is the emphatic testimony of the two African education commissions, of which the writer was Chairman, that missionaries were invariably opposed to all forms of injustice to the native people. Often their opposition could not be expressed because their status in the colonies was one of special privilege granted by the colonial Governments. Accordingly missionaries thought it wise to assist the people within the limitations of their privilege rather than to risk complete exclusion. In cases of extreme injustice they have risked their status and suffered prosecution and persecution in order to free the people from wrongs. One such instance of some years ago received international commendation. Another instance is now pending, in which missions are restrained in the expression of their righteous indignation only by their devotion to what appears to be the best interests of the natives.

In justice to Governments and commercial interests it should be said that the offi-

cers of both Governments and business organizations are as a rule men of integrity and genuine interest in the people. The morals and morale of Governments and business partake of the standards prevailing in the home countries. In some instances missionaries of provincial ideas have been unfairly critical of the non-religious agencies in the colonies. In other cases missions have failed to understand the difficulties involved in governmental and industrial relationships and have championed the cause of the natives in unwise ways. Frequently it happens that the business agents, too exclusively interested in their own undertakings, expect mission schools to devote their energies to the training of clerks and workers for their concerns to the exclusion of the general interest of the people and country. The misunderstandings perennially arising between social service agencies and economic interests in the home countries are thus duplicated in the relationship of missions to business and commerce in foreign lands.

One form of the hectic opposition to the Western nations is the belief that missionaries have helped to restrain the movements for self-determination of national groups. Such a belief entirely overlooks the substantial contributions of teachers, schools and financial support for the education of the native people wherever missionaries have worked. What more real basis for self-determination can there be than education and character development? Missionaries more than all others, more than native leaders, more than international altruists, have been willing to sacrifice themselves that the native people may develop into full manhood and womanhood. If at times they have been eager to continue their help a little longer than necessary, intelligent appreciation of their services will reveal that, like parents and all devoted teachers, their very devotion makes them tenacious of duties long continued.

While the evidence thus indicates that missions have been more genuinely interested in the self-determination of the people than any other foreign or native group has been, it may be seriously questioned whether the extreme forms of self-determination, now advocated in various

quarters, should be accepted with approval by missions or any responsible organization. Basically self-determination is only one element, however important, in the evolution of individual and social groups. Its advocacy to the exclusion of other elements essential to social progress is unfortunate and even dangerous. Nations, races and peoples need contacts with other peoples. In this day of travel and world exchanges hermit nations are outside the realm of possibility. Occidental influences, economic and otherwise, are certain to continue entering the Orient and every part of the world. A self-determination that discourages the continuation of missionary service would mean the elimination of the most genuinely altruistic service and influence which the Occident has to offer or ever has offered.

"NORDIC SUPERIORITY"

The charge that missionaries have been party to "Nordic" or Occidental conceits seems to be largely the result of misunderstandings due to supersensitiveness. Undoubtedly representatives of Western nations have frequently been so aggressive as to give the impression of conceit. The wide

and varied differences between the Orient and the Occident have naturally tended to create irritations. Occidental wealth, power, mechanical inventions and scientific achievements have been much in the minds of those who have gone to other parts of the world less favored in these directions. The desire and determination to introduce the results of these achievements into foreign countries could easily be ascribed to a sense of superiority. It is unquestionably true that many Occidentals have failed to appreciate the achievements and qualities of other civilizations. With all of these attitudes, missionaries have been associated owing to their Occidental origin.

The misunderstandings have been deepened by the old method of working *for* a people instead of *with* them. The missionary interest in those who were regarded as less fortunate was prone to adopt the method of working *for* rather than *with*. This error was the custom of the period in which missions began, and the habit still prevails even in the relations of different classes in home countries. Certainly the traditions and classes of Asiatic and African peoples were deeply rooted in the classifications into upper and lower castes;



A regular morning scene at the clinic of the Mission Hospital, British Baptist Mission, at Bolobo, on the Congo River

the strong and the weak; the privileged and the unprivileged. The newer social attitudes originating in more democratic conceptions of society have sought to change human relationships into what may be called horizontal rather than vertical classifications. For these newer trends Western democracy is entitled to much of the credit. Magna Charta, the French Revolution and the American Declaration of Independence are among the most definite expressions of working *with* a people rather than *for* them. But this discussion is concerned with present conditions rather than causes, and the fact is that so-called native people do resent even the appearance of the assertion of superiority.

Whatever may be the extent of superiority attitudes on the part of most Occidental classes, mission records prove that missionaries are less subject to this charge than any others. Their learning of the foreign languages, their sharing of their privileges and ideals, the extent of their self-sacrifice all indicate that they have been nearer to the method of working *with* the people than any other group either native or foreign.

Despite the very natural resentment of Oriental and other foreign peoples against the assertion of any form of Occidental superiorities, it appears now that some of the efforts to overcome the so-called superiorities are futile. The most unfortunate of these efforts is the tendency to minimize the natural differentiations of population groups. A second effort consists in the denial of any vital differences in social conditions, such as health and sanitation, ability to use natural resources, educational attainments and civic status.

The depreciation of group characteristics easily degenerates into a loss of respect for group heritage and attainments. To discount the significance of the term "race," because the word has been used to support the idea of permanent castes, is to eliminate a word that represents real differences. The remedy for the misuse of racial differentiations seems clearly to be the advocacy of proper attitudes toward such differentiations. Society must learn to appreciate and respect the varied attainments and heritages of nations and races rather than to disregard them through

futile denials. Even if permanent differences may possibly never be proved through biological or social science, there are differences which are real in the practical relationships of humanity. Careful analysis of the misunderstandings attending interracial relationships will undoubtedly reveal a confusion as to the elements of *identity* that bind all races and the elements of *differentiation* that involve the attainments and contributions of each race to human progress. Differentiations thus become the basis of mutual respect rather than of discriminations. Identities bind all races as regards the common issues and responsibilities of humanity. The ratings of equality and inequality are comparatively unimportant. The appreciation of racial and other differences is sound and helpful.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF NATIONS

Sentimental denials of the social conditions of nations and races as regards such community essentials as health, economic welfare, education and civic status are, to say the least, obviously unfortunate. Differences in these vital conditions are real whatever may be their causes. The average death rate in America and Europe ranges



A native village in Zanzibar, scene of missionary activities



▲ The blacksmith shop of a school conducted by the Roman Catholic Brothers of Belgium at Stanleyville, Belgian Congo

approximately from 12 to 15 per thousand, as against averages in Asia that range from 20 to 40 and in Africa from 30 to 60. Although there are no definite measurements of other social conditions, it is well known that the differences do exist, that famines are all too frequent, that educational facilities are lamentably lacking, that civic rights are too generally disregarded and that the general standard of human comfort is exceedingly low. The citing of inequalities as regards these essentials in America and Europe is but sophistry and dialectics when used to justify the sweeping and drastic differences in other parts of the world. Such differences in America and Europe are only incidents and exceptions, however lamentable, in the general movement toward the standards that are already admittedly higher than anywhere else. The conclusion of these observations is therefore that the nationalists of "foreign mission lands" and their advocates in the "home countries" have not only misunderstood missionary attitudes toward "self-determination" and "racial superiority," but that their misinterpretations of these subjects have encouraged them to

adopt policies that would in the long run be antagonistic to their own best interests.

Many of the criticisms, which the "home people" make of missions, originate in the conditions and attitudes already discussed. It is interesting to note that missionaries are criticized by nationalists for their alliance with exploiters, whereas the exploiters regard missionaries as hostile to their purposes. Such contradictory complaints are typical of much of the criticism that finds too ready reception among the home people. The remoteness of the "mission fields" as well as the widely varying conditions make it possible for any traveler, without fear of contradiction, to relate strange stories of mission life, of big game or of native people. The American members of the commissions to Africa have been amazed by the credulity of some Americans in their belief of irresponsible visitors to Africa.

Undoubtedly missionaries have made mistakes. This is a condition which they share with all other members of the human family. In their behalf it may be said that the writer's five years' experience of rather vigorous criticism of their methods reveals

an unusual willingness to accept recommendations of change. The errors have been largely due to the transfer of methods and ideals from the home country without adaptation to the new conditions in foreign lands. Such errors are the natural result of excessive loyalty to home ideas and a mistaken form of generosity to the foreign people. International relationships of all types have suffered from similar errors. Fortunately the folly of this procedure is being recognized. There is an increasing determination to know the heritage and achievements of foreign people. In this movement missionaries are taking a genuine part.

The answer to the question "Why Missionaries?" is that they personify the ever-deepening desire of human beings to be helpful to neighbors whether they dwell next door or across the seas. Whatever their errors, missionaries have been the pioneers of international friendship. Long before this day, when it is the vogue to meet representatives of other peoples at Geneva, the missionaries have gone out among those people to learn their languages, to know their manner of life, to help them in any possible direction. What does it matter that the missionaries had a dogma and spoke much of it? Disregarding the value or the futility of the dogma, the fact is that the missionaries have gone to live among foreign people and have

shared whatever they had with those people.

Some idea of the extent of foreign missionary activities maintained by the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches of Europe and America is presented in the following summary:

1. Missions maintain 54,000 European and American men and women of education and sound character in various continents of the earth;
2. These missionaries minister directly or indirectly to more than 21,000,000 people;
3. Mission schools enroll 4,250,000 children;
4. Missions maintain 1,445 hospitals which cared for 461,000 in-patients in 1923 and provided dispensary treatment for several million patients.

If it be admitted that medical missionaries have been helpful, then it must be admitted that every missionary shares the approval, in that each has necessarily taken to the foreign people his personal standards of health and sanitation. If agricultural missionaries are good, then other missionaries in considerable measure deserve credit for their influence in behalf of soil cultivation. In a word, the incidental contributions of missionaries to foreign communities are sufficient to justify their devoted service.



Italy's Program of Empire

By HOWARD R. MARRARO

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THE statement made by Benito Mussolini, Premier of Italy, toward the latter part of December, 1925, concerning an Italian Empire, and his recent gestures toward one, have made many people smile, amused; many more have frowned, alarmed; because not knowing what the program of Fascism is, they cannot understand what the Duce means. And yet his declaration was not a sudden revelation, but a restatement of an urgent necessity which has not only been felt, but clearly stated in Italy for over twenty years.

Where, it is asked, without clashing with other nations, can new territory be found over which the Italian Empire would hold sway? Some observers have called attention to the recent expansion of the Italian naval and aerial forces, but the question remains: "Whom is Mussolini preparing to fight?" The belief has been expressed that Mussolini is trying to generate some kind of European conflict by which Italian opportunism might profit. There is suspicion also that Italy has attempted to embitter the relations between the various Balkan States. It has been pointed out that Mussolini had in view a time when Italy might fight Turkey and would either want the support of Yugoslavia and Greece, or at least the assurance in advance of their benevolent neutrality. And, in fact, Turkey is so thoroughly alarmed that she has called up six classes of reserves, totaling 120,000 men. In addition, the Turkish Parliament, according to a dispatch from Constantinople, has voted \$40,000,000 to be used for refitting the navy and building up a greater army. The Turkish newspapers in applauding these preparations declare that "force alone commands respect in international relations, and now the Turkish Army is equal to any European army." Turkey has been warned that Mussolini intends to attack her in Asia Minor. The large output of airplanes and munitions in Northern Italy for Greece has con-

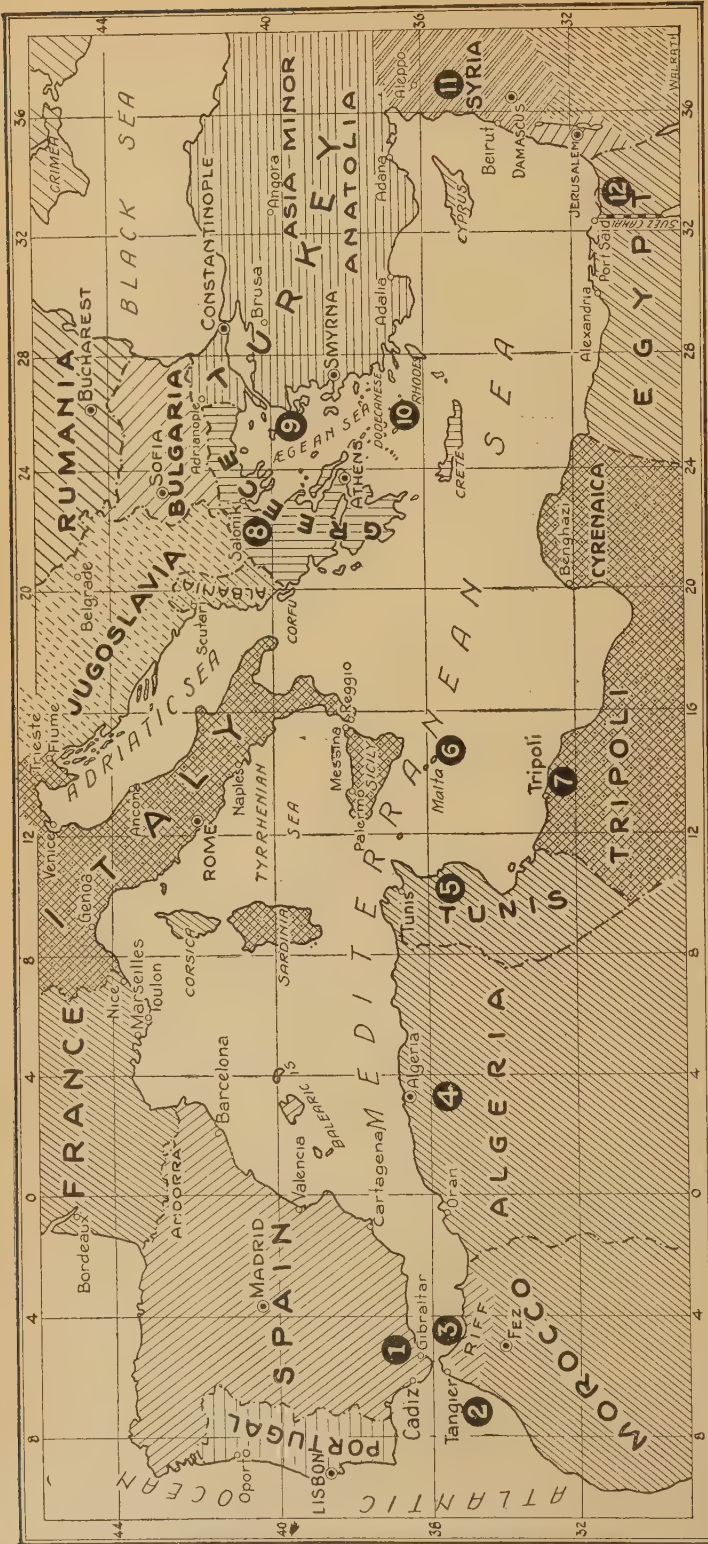
vinced Turkey that the intentions of Mussolini are hostile.

These interpretations of Mussolini's imperialism are disturbing many French diplomats and are stimulating French diplomatic activity in Belgrade. Georges Leygues, Minister of the Navy, at a recent meeting of the French Senate, demanded resources to assure France of a navy able to protect her interests in the Mediterranean. Without a direct reference to the Duce, M. Leygues declared that no one had a right to say "the sea is ours," as Mussolini is reported to have said recently. In asking credits of 1,400,000,000 francs the Minister declared the sea as an international domain must be free. However, Premier Briand, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies on April 23, 1926, on France's foreign policy, gave the assurance that the relations between the French and Italian Governments were of the best. He also emphasized the fact that Italy's just demands must be respected, adding:

This people is a great people and one which increases annually in enormous proportions. It is natural that there should be a sort of bubbling up and that the vapor, under strong pressure, should seek to spray itself abroad. * * * All our diplomatic relations show that on the part of Italy there is no intention of upsetting peace.

In spite of her vital interests in the Near East and Middle East, Great Britain is a passive looker-on in the battle of diplomatic wits. But even Lloyd George takes Mussolini seriously. He sees Mussolini sailing for Africa accompanied by an imposing flotilla of armed ships. If this were all swagger, he says, the world would laugh, but there is an uneasy feeling abroad that it signifies business of a portentous kind. "Italian imperialism," says Lloyd George, "has been aroused to a pitch of enthusiastic confidence in its destiny such as the Peninsula has not experienced since the days of the Caesars."

What is the meaning of this Italian idea of the necessary imperial future of Italy?



THE DANGER SPOTS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

Map of the Mediterranean, showing twelve focal points in the Mediterranean countries, as follows: (1) Gibraltar, "Gate of the Mediterranean," which is now considered to have lost much of its value; (2) Tangier, governed by Britain, Spain and France, under a treaty not accepted by the United States and Italy; (3) The Rif, where France and Spain have been at war with the forces of Abd-el-Krim; (4) Algeria, governed by the French (5) Tunisia, which the French took from Turkey; in it there is a colony of 90,000 Italians; (6) Malta, which was taken by the British in 1814, and which Mussolini has called part of "unredeemed Italy"; (7) Tripoli, where the native tribes are said to be restive; it has been Italian since the war with Turkey in 1912; (8) Saloniki, which is again Greek; Yugoslavia's demand for an outlet to the sea makes this a crucial point; (9) Imbros and Tenedos, occupied by Britain since the war; it is being administered by the Supreme Council until Turkey complies with the Dardanelles stipulation; (10) The Dodecanese, which were occupied by Italy in 1912 and will be turned over to Greece when she executes the Sevres Treaty; (11) Syria, where the Druses are in revolt; it is territory over which the French hold a mandate; (12) The Suez Canal, which British controls, and which makes the Mediterranean an international waterway.

The friendly press interprets it as a nominal transformation of the Kingdom of Italy into an Empire; or describes Italy as a would-be successor to the Austro-Hungarian Empire; others have qualified it as an "intellectual gesture" aiming to assert Italy's value in the world. The hostile press, on the other hand, fears that Mussolini is aggressive and that he is preparing to conquer new territory even at the cost of another great war.

The truth is quite different. The Empire does not mean that Mussolini proposes to extend Italy's dominion by military conquests. It simply interprets the need for expansion by a people whose constant increase compels it to occupy a greater place in the world. Italian nationalists have shown that Italy "produces" more infants than wheat, carbon, or iron. This condition has compelled Italians to emigrate by the million. Italian imperialism resulting from a high birth rate aims to establish an equilibrium between her surplus population and her natural resources; between her numerical strength and international respect. As Mussolini expressed it in his speech before the Senate on May 28:

This Italy must make a place for herself in the world. We should be intelligent enough to do it in time and with good grace. * * *

Italian policies have been suspected of imperialism. I believe and I am comforted in the realization that I am supported by cultural patrimony, that every living being has imperialistic tendencies; hence peoples, which are more coordinated and more conscious than individuals, if they wish to live must develop a certain will to power, otherwise they will decay, or be prey to stronger peoples in whom the will to power is more developed. * * *

I must declare to the whole world that the Fascist Government is following a policy of peace and does not desire to disturb the peace. Italy wants a just and durable peace, to use the already antiquated words of the Wilsonian era, but this peace must be accompanied by satisfaction of our legitimate, sacrosanct interests.

Yet this definition of Italian imperialism has not been generally understood. It is strange that the English and French searching for models and analogies for Mussolini's Empire have had to go back to the Roman Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, the German Empire, or even to the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Em-

pires. They have quite forgotten the British and French modern colonial empires—the type to which Mussolini refers when he speaks of an Italian Empire.

THE GREED OF NATIONS

Modern imperialism is essentially a competitive policy, and as such has fomented discord among the great powers. The Chino-Japanese, the Russo-Japanese, the Boer, and Turco-Italian wars are the more important conflicts directly due to the imperialist tendency. The Spanish-American War, while perhaps chiefly a result of humanitarian agitation against the Spanish methods of suppressing insurrection in Cuba, was not wholly uninfluenced by imperialistic motives. Active colonization of Algeria by France after the Franco-Prussian War began the struggle for the partition of Africa, which eventually engaged the leading countries of Europe. Parallel with the partition of Africa was the progress of imperialism in Asia in which the United States also was engaged. The net result of this struggle for colonial supremacy is shown in the following table:

	Mainland.		Colonies.	
	Area Sq. Miles.	Population.	Area Sq. Miles.	Population.
Great Britain—				
94,101	44,169,000	469.4	13,261,325	405,414,000
France—				
212,736	39,210,000	184.3	3,958,626	55,631,900
Belgium—				
11,753	7,466,000	635.2	909,654	8,510,000
Portugal—				
35,499	6,033,000	169.9	936,264	8,737,000
Holland—				
13,246	6,865,000	518.3	788,000	49,534,000
Italy—				
119,733	42,000,000	350.7	813,754	1,839,000
United States—				
3,026,789	105,711,000	34.9	716,740	12,112,000
Spain—				
195,061	21,347,000	109.4	129,470	786,391

It is clear from the above that with respect to size and population Italy occupies an inferior position among the colonial European powers. The total area of the Italian colonies is much less than that of the French and considerably smaller than that of the British Empire. If the present and potential values of the colonies are considered, Italy occupies a still more unfavorable position. The colonial possessions of Belgium, Portugal and Holland have abundant water supply, large rivers, forests, mines of all kinds, and cultivable lands, whereas the colonial territories of Italy are largely deserts with

limited water courses which can only be utilized at the cost of huge sums, few mines and poor forests. In an area about equal to that of all the Italian colonies the Dutch East Indies have a population of 50,000,000 people, while the Belgian and Portuguese colonies each have about nine million inhabitants.

Mussolini's imperialistic gestures are due to Italy's rapidly increasing population—from 28,000,000 in 1881 to 42,000,000 in 1925. The entire kingdom comprises about ninety thousand square miles, which is slightly more than the area of Kansas. But the population of Italy exceeds 42,000,000, which is more than that of all the American States west of the Mississippi. Or, if you will, imagine Texas populated by 126,000,000 people, with one-third of its plains changed into unproductive mountains; with no coal, no oil, no iron, no cotton, not even enough grain, and you will understand what the problem is which confronts Italy. The following table shows the increase in population in Italy from 1912-23:

ITALIAN POPULATION—1912-23.
(In thousands)

Year.	Live-Births	Deaths	Excess Births Over Deaths....	Immigrants	Emigrants	Immigrants Over Emigrants	Actual Increase of Population....
1912..	1,134	636	498	710	750	- 40	458
1913..	1,122	664	458	840	900	- 60	398
1914..	1,114	643	471	640	500	+140	611
1915..	1,109	811	298	490	180	+310	608
1916..	882	856	26	240	170	+ 70	96
1917..	391	929	-238	120	60	+ 60	-170
1918..	640	1,276	-636	110	40	+ 70	-566
1919..	771	676	95	230	200	+ 30	125
1920..	1,158	682	476	340	410	- 70	400
1921..	1,118	642	476	200	280	- 80	396
1922..	1,127	660	467	220	280	- 60	407
1923..	1,107	626	481	300	400	-100	381

The excess of births over deaths alone is about thirteen per 1,000 inhabitants in Italy, as compared to nine in England and Wales, eight in Belgium and three in France. This tremendous fertility of the Italian makes living conditions extremely difficult. The cost of living in 1924-1925 was calculated as six and seven times what it was in 1914. An essential necessity like Cardiff coal cost 50 lire a ton in 1914; in January, 1925, the same cost 350 lire. The important features in the economic

geography of Italy are the backbone of mountains which separate the Po Valley from Middle Italy, the dryness and sterility of the soil in Southern Italy, and a large amount of water power available in the north, together with natural resources resembling those of Southern France. As a consequence, Northern Italy is pre-eminently industrial in contrast with the south, which is agricultural, but is so limited in its resources as to be much the poorer part of the country. Sardinia and Sicily, though much richer agriculturally than Southern Italy, are nevertheless very backward both in agriculture and industry. Central Italy lives largely in the past and is not productive.

UNEMPLOYMENT DANGERS

It is reasonable to expect that with a steady increase in population this struggle for existence will become more and more acute. What can the Italians do to avert this danger? Italian emigration which was a safety-valve is at the present time practically closed. Development of Italian industries is going on as rapidly as possible, but the industry of a country deprived of raw materials has natural limitations which can only be met, and not overcome. There is imminent danger of a great unemployment crisis, which may have serious social and political consequences. It is clear, therefore, that if Italy wishes to gain economic independence, avert a social and international crisis and not bleed herself to death by forced emigration, or weaken herself by the limitation of births, she must have raw materials of her own, and new territories to which she may send her surplus population. In short, she must have a colonial empire like that of England or France.

The ambition of Italy to hold possessions in Northern Africa goes back to 1838, when the patriot Mazzini is credited with the words "North Africa belongs to Italy." In the forty years that followed 1870 (the year of Italian political unification) Italy's bid for room to expand along the Mediterranean coast of Africa was one of the constant factors in the complicated history of

the period. Various colonies, which Italy did gain in this period, have all failed to attract a sufficient number of colonizing emigrants because of the scarcity of raw materials, and also because Government officials, busy with internal politics, failed to arouse the interest of the general public. This attitude of indifference on the part of the Italian people is largely responsible for Italy's refusal of Egypt which England had offered, and for her failures in Tunis, Sudan and Abyssinia. To an Italian the term "colonies" simply meant disaster, loss of huge sums, death and disgrace.

At the end of the European war all nations began to compile imperialistic programs for the partition of Middle Asiatic and Pacific colonies. Italy entrusted the preparation of a colonial program to be presented to the peace conference to private initiative, which did very excellent work but had to overcome the indifference of the public. The Nationalist Party and the Italian Colonial Institute, combined with the Geographic Society, the Oriental Institute, the Dante Alighieri, the Colonial Agricultural Institute and other bodies drew up a program which was submitted to the Italian Government for use at the peace conference. A national convention, held at the Colonial Institute in January, 1919, passed a resolution claiming on Italy's behalf some mining concessions in Asia Minor; new acquisitions in Eastern Africa; extension of the frontiers in Libya and an outlet in Western Africa. The Italian Government presented this program to the peace conference, convinced of its impartiality and sound economic basis and believing that it represented a genuine expression of Italy's minimum colonial needs. The program was, however, almost entirely rejected, so that Italy's dominion is now about the same as it was before the war.

When Mussolini became Premier of Italy he appointed as Minister of Colonies one of the most representative figures of Italian nationalism, Luigi Federzoni, well known for his ideas on Italian expansion. Under his direction the mistakes in Libya, attributed to the inefficiency of previous administrations, were speedily corrected. Mussolini also sent a mission to Eritrea,

on the Red Sea, and appointed Count Volpi Governor of Tripolitania. The policy of trust and confidence in the natives has of late years begun to bear fruit. It is hoped that this will encourage the half million Italians who are forced to emigrate each year to settle in the Italian colonies.

MEDITERRANEAN COMMERCE

Since Italy is exclusively in the Mediterranean, and since four-fifths of Italian commerce is done by sea, her future depends almost entirely on her position in this sea. Italy's commercial routes, her emigration and expansion, her power and liberty are bound up with the Mediterranean.

For this reason Italy is in a dangerous position, because the two doors of the Mediterranean, through which she communicates with the extra-European world, belong to other nations. The entire coast of Northern Africa, from Tangiers to Alexandria—excepting Libya—is controlled by other powers, while from Spain to Asia Minor there is a formidable chain of foreign naval bases which are in a position to blockade the Italian Peninsula.

The Mediterranean is therefore of vital importance to Italy, because her expansion must begin there. British nervousness over this was manifested in a recent editorial in *The London Times*. The Geneva fiasco, it predicted, would be followed by a new grouping of European powers, the backbone of which would be an alliance between France and Italy. Such an arrangement seems improbable since France and Italy are, to some extent, competing for the Mediterranean hegemony.

It is no wonder that Italy signed the Locarno Pact, which aimed at assuring the equilibrium of continental Europe; whereas she refused to sign the Geneva Protocol of 1924, which sought to maintain the status quo of the Mediterranean, and to fix unchangeably the map of the colonial world.

Another political aspect of Italian imperialism is Italy's firm demand to be heard on all important international questions.

The Italian Empire is at present constituted as follows:

Area, Sq. Miles.	Population, 1921.	Value of Imports.	Commerce. Exports.
Cyrenaica— 230,000	220,000	\$15,209,977	\$1,955,312
Tripolitania— 350,000	550,000	21,185,596	3,514,370
Eritrea— 45,754	402,793	21,220,614	7,345,889
Somaliland— 154,000	650,000	10,591,584	447,161
Jubaland— 34,000	16,000
Total— 813,754	1,838,793	\$69,207,771	\$13,262,732

Italian Libya (Cyrenaica and Tripolitania) lies on the north coast of Africa between Tunis on the west and Egypt on the east. The work of development has been going on with great energy. Harbors, roads and railways have been constructed; schools and hospitals are found along the coast, and police and sanitary services have been introduced for the first time in five centuries. Certain zones of Tripolitania are covered with palm, olive, lemon and fruit trees, while cereals, figs, vines and saffron are also grown. It is estimated that at the present time only 2 per cent. of the total area can be utilized for agricultural purposes. In Cyrenaica olives and cypresses predominate. Pasturage is abundant and cattle could be bred on a vast scale. Bananas are grown at Derna. Eritrea, which lies on the Red Sea, is the oldest and smallest Italian colony. The annual rain is sufficient for the successful raising of the crops. Irrigation works are being built in order to facilitate intensive production by Italian farmers. Pasturage is abundant. Pearl fishing is an important industry, and a promising trade is being carried on in palm nuts. Gold mines are worked successfully in several localities of Hamasien and petroleum has recently been found. In Somaliland the principal occupations of the people are cattle-rearing and agriculture. The southern part of the country, near the banks of the Webi Shebele, is inhabited and cultivated by the natives. The rest of the country is a desert.

COLONIAL RESOURCES

The Italian colonies may by careful exploitation yield products which are badly needed in Italy. Although the cotton industry is one of the most important in

Italy, nothing has yet been done to obtain this product from the colonies. And yet there are many zones in Eritrea, Jubaland and Libya that could yield an enormous supply of cotton. Studies have also shown that Italy could secure agricultural products from her colonies such as coffee, gum, sugar cane, bamboo, tobacco and rubber. Italy may also secure her meat supply from her colonies, especially from Somaliland and Eritrea. Libya has deposits of sulphur and phosphates which are being studied. There is gold in the uplands of Eritrea and manganese, iron, zinc, brass, coal and potash are found in Asmara. The Colonial Institutes of Florence and Palermo are experimenting on colonial agricultural products and national products which may be exploited in Italian colonies. These two institutions have a museum, an herbarium, libraries, and also publish a periodical, "Colonial Agriculture." The Colonial Institute of Rome, devoted to the study of political questions in the colonies, is doing excellent work and publishes the "Rivista Coloniale" and the "Illustrazione Coloniale."

What Mussolini expects is that if ever a new field of colonization is opened—especially if it has been opened with the blood and efforts of Italians—other powers which already have vast empires should not exclude Italy in the distribution of new lands. The imperial map of the world and the present hierarchy of military and political powers should not be definitely fixed. Other nations should not impose on Italy the myth of an international moral code in order to prevent her from entering an imperial career through which other nations have already passed. After the European War, which cost Italy 700,000 men, the former German colonial possessions were divided among the other powers, excluding Italy entirely. The vast Arabian territories of the Ottoman Empire—Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia—were neither French nor British; and yet, France and England under a mandate divided these lands, again excluding Italy. Peace that is based on ignorance—feigned or true—of the vital needs of a people cannot last. Such an artificial settlement will result not in peace but in war.

The End of the War in Morocco

THE Riffian war, of which Abd-el-Krim's surrender to the French apparently marks the end, may be said to have begun in 1919, when evacuation of Riff territory was demanded of Spain by the tribe of Beni Warriageli, ruled by Abd-el-Krim. In the first phase of the war—the Spanish phase—military operations on a major scale began to develop in 1921, and Abd-el-Krim's overwhelming victories over the Spanish forces raised him in the following year to the position of a leader of a vast movement of dissident tribes and enabled him to proclaim himself Sultan of all Morocco.

The foundation of his military prestige was laid by the crushing defeat administered to the Spanish army at Melilla in 1921 by a force of Riffians which, as they claimed, did not exceed 6,000 men. The Spanish losses in that battle were 7,000 killed and 20,000 prisoners, and, in addition, the Riffians, led by Abd-el-Krim's brother, captured large stores of military supplies, including 100 guns. It was the victory of Melilla that made Abd-el-Krim's small force into a rallying centre for the Riffian movement.

A period of guerrilla warfare followed, and then, in the Summer of 1923, Abd-el-Krim proclaimed a holy war and started a general offensive, forcing the Spanish army to retreat steadily toward the coast, notwithstanding the constant arrival of reinforcements. It was primarily those reverses, and in particular Abd-el-Krim's victory at Sheshuan, that brought about the military *coup d'état* in Spain and the establishment of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship.

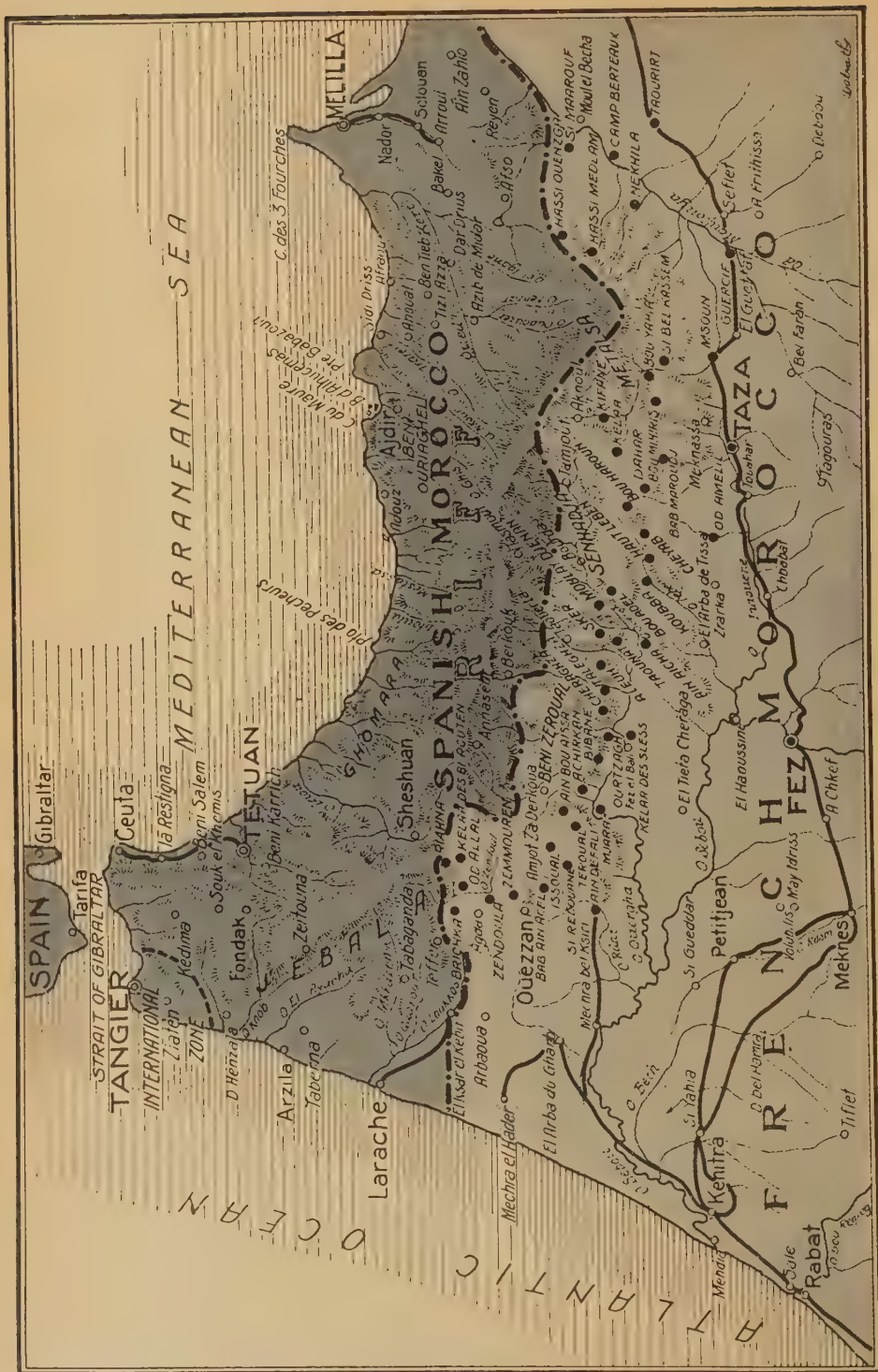
Heavy reinforcements were sent against the Riffs in 1924, and General de Rivera in person took command of the Spanish forces in Morocco, Spain's proclaimed objective being the complete submission of the rebel tribes. But the Spanish army was again overwhelmed by Abd-el-Krim at Annual, losing 20,000 prisoners and large stores of munitions. In October, 1924, Primo de Rivera announced a new policy, which consisted of withdrawing the

Spanish garrisons from the advanced zone and establishing a series of strong bases on the coast. A general retreat was accordingly under way in the months of November and December, but it was not allowed to be carried out peacefully, as rebellion was spreading in its wake. The retreating armies were constantly harassed along the whole line from Sheshuan to Tetuan, suffering enormous losses in men and material, and on Dec. 12 the Spanish camp at Alcazar-Seguir, on the Strait of Gibraltar, was captured and other posts also fell. Peace negotiations had been under way since the establishment of the Directorate in Spain, but they were now broken off, as Abd-el-Krim demanded a war indemnity of 20,000,000 pesetas and the evacuation of the entire Spanish zone except the two extreme points of Ceuta and Melilla.

These events of the end of 1924 concluded the Spanish phase of the Riffian war, and Abd-el-Krim's success was further increased in January, 1925, by the capture of Raisuli, who had made peace with Spain late in 1922 and who had been counted upon by Spain as a possible counterpoise to Abd-el-Krim's influence.

THE FRENCH PHASE OF THE WAR

A raid by Abd-el-Krim's forces upon the French zone in April, 1925, when they attacked certain tribes which had been friendly to France, marked the beginning of the second stage of the war. The alleged reason for the hostilities against the French was the occupation of the Ouergha zone by French forces in the Summer of 1924, which had resulted in cutting off the Riff tribes from their sources of grain supply. The raid was followed by a revolt of dissident tribes in the French zone and by a Riff offensive with Fez as the objective. The situation soon became sufficiently grave to cause the French Government to meet the repeated demands of Marshal Lyautey for reinforcements. The system of scattered military posts which had been maintained by the French in Morocco proved inadequate to resist the Abd-el-Krim forces, which had now developed



Map of Morocco, showing the Spanish and French zones

into a regular army provided with modern equipment.

Large contingents of French troops, with artillery, tanks and airplanes, were poured into Morocco for a colonial war. French military operations were handicapped by the fact that Abd-el-Krim's base was in the Spanish zone, and it was only after a secret agreement had been entered into by France and Spain on June 22, 1925, that a joint offensive on a large scale, under the command of General Pétain, was launched against the Riffians in the form of a pincer movement, squeezing the Riff from north and south. More than 100,000 French troops, besides allied tribes, were engaged in that movement last Fall, when operations had to be interrupted owing to the advent of the rainy season. In February, 1926, Abd-el-Krim unsuccessfully approached the French Government with peace overtures. In the meantime, Marshal Lyautey had been replaced as Governor of Morocco by Senator Jules Steeg, whose efforts were directed to winning the tribes away from allegiance to Abd-el-Krim.

Military operations were resumed in the Spring of 1926, with 150,000 French and Senegalese and 104,000 Spanish troops in the field, supported by friendly tribes, against a Riff force of 15,000 regulars and 55,000 allied tribesmen. On April 6 the French and Spanish Governments issued a notification to Abd-el-Krim that they were ready to receive his delegates for the discussion of preliminaries of peace, and, as no agreement was reached on the preliminaries, a formal peace conference was opened at Oudja on April 26. The negotiations, however, were broken off on May 6, and the Franco-Spanish advance was continued. On May 23 Targuist, the capital of the Riff, was taken by the French, and Abd-el-Krim was compelled to flee.

It was apparently the defection of several tribes, combined with the military success of the French, that caused Abd-el-Krim to ask for a truce, and upon this being refused, to surrender on May 26, 1926. Ac-

cording to Governor Steeg, 18,000 families of tribesmen had been won back by the French since last Fall, as a result of his political work, and Abd-el-Krim had thus been deprived of 18,000 rifles. The French losses until the beginning of the campaign in the Spring of 1926 were 11,412 killed and wounded, including 2,805 native Frenchmen.

Although the Riffian war may probably be regarded as over with the elimination of Abd-el-Krim, his surrender was immediately followed by indications of differences between Spain and France which reflect the old opposition between these two nations' interests in Morocco. The differences were so far ostensibly confined to the methods of dealing with Abd-el-Krim. The French were in favor of sending him into honorable exile immediately after the ceremony of formal submission, whereas the Spanish demanded that he be at least tried by a mixed French and Spanish commission on charges of abusing and killing Spanish war prisoners. The difference between the treatment that was accorded the French and the Spanish prisoners by Abd-el-Krim was consistent with his repeated professions of friendship for France while emphasizing that Spain was the enemy.

The fact that the Riff capital was captured by French troops, and allegedly in frustration of elaborate plans of a Spanish offensive, placed the French in the position of conquerors of the Riff, whereas the territory was included in the Spanish zone and was subject to Spain's protection. The future disposition of that zone may have to be made a matter of discussion at a conference of the two powers. The French view was said to be that Spain should be relieved of the civil administration of interior districts which she had never actually controlled; although France did not expect any rectification of the frontiers except in detail, according to military requirements, she did expect that French civilians, under authority of the Sultan, would be entrusted with the administration of the interior.



The War Guilt Controversy

I.—A Vindication of the German General Staff

By ALFRED von WEGENER

Head of the Central Office for the Investigation of the Causes of the War, Berlin, and
Editor of the monthly journal, *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*

THE essay on "France's Responsibility for the World War," published by Georges Demartial in the March number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, called forth in the same magazine from James W. Gerard, the former American Ambassador in Berlin, a reply which did not really answer the arguments set forth by M. Demartial. Mr. Gerard merely used M. Demartial's article as a peg on which to hang his criticism of the German General Staff, which he considers as directly and definitely responsible in 1914 for the declaration of war.

Before beginning his attack on the German General Staff Mr. Gerard attempts to set forth the general causes of the war. One must admit that he is right in his opening contention that the general responsibility for the World War belongs to the European States as a whole. These States, he says, were all under the old delusion that an accession of territory, even when this territory contained a hostile population, meant added wealth and power. This same idea has recently been put in a new light by the French soldier, General Percin, who has calculated that France had to pay for each newly acquired inhabitant of Alsace-Lorraine with the lives of five of her sons and one million francs.

Gerard regards the pre-war treaties and the race for armaments as one of the essential causes of the war. We cannot accept without certain reserves the admittedly widespread view that the origins of the war can be explained in this way. Treaties and armaments should probably be regarded not so much as the causes which lead to war as the consequences of the conflict of interests which existed in 1914 and which still exist between the European States. The two American writers, Professor Sydney B. Fay and Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, are therefore,

in our opinion, quite right in recognizing that for forty-four years peace prevailed among the great powers of Europe in spite of the policy of alliances.

One is, perhaps, justified in going even further and stating that the conflict of interests in Europe was actually held in check by the balance of armaments and the so-called rivalry in our armaments, so that for a long period there was no such thing as war. The error, or, if one prefers to call it so, the uneconomic element in this competition lay in the fact that the armaments themselves were maintained at the highest limit possible for each State. The present disarmament, on the other hand, seems to be characterized by the fact that the nations, instead of doing what is known on the Stock Exchanges as speculating for a rise in armaments, prefer to speculate for a fall, because the latter is regarded as offering better business.

Gerard's opinion is no less superficial, too, when he states that the constant talk about war operated as another contributory cause to the outbreak of war. The talk about war to which he refers did not consist of false or exaggerated reports, but of rumors that were based on fact. No one can deny that Europe in the latter part of the nineteenth and in the early part of the twentieth century on several occasions actually hovered on the brink of a great war.

After his introductory remarks concerning the causes of the war, Gerard conveniently skips the difficult theme of the July crisis and simply cuts the Gordian knot by declaring that "it was Germany that declared war," maintaining that "the particular responsibility for this declaration must rest upon the German Great General Staff." The German General Staff, he thinks, in order to maintain its

position of power regarded a short and successful war as the best means of achieving this aim, and as soon as the opportunity offered, in the Summer of 1914, to get the war it wanted, it used its influence on the political executive by brutally forcing the Kaiser to sign the declaration of war.

THE KAISER'S FUNCTION

As a matter of fact, the declarations of war on Russia and France, when considered from a purely formal standpoint, came to pass in the following way: According to Article II of the German Constitution of April 16, 1871, it is the function of the Emperor to represent the Reich from the standpoint of international law, to declare war and to conclude peace in the name of the Reich, to conclude treaties and other agreements with foreign States and to accredit and receive Ambassadors. In order to declare war in the name of the Reich, the Emperor must have the assent of the Bundesrat, except when German territory or the coasts of Germany have been invaded.

On Aug. 1, 1914, the text of the declarations of war lay in readiness at the Foreign Office and was approved by the Kaiser. In the *Deutsche Dokumente zum Kriegausbruch* (German Documents Bearing on the Outbreak of the War) the following note will be found written in by the German Chancellor on Aug. 1, 1914: "His Majesty has approved the tenor of the declarations of war."

A meeting of the Bundesrat was held on Aug. 1, 1914. After the Chancellor, who was in the chair, had closed his explanations and received the assent of the Governments represented in the Bund, and after he had declared, that in case satisfactory declarations were not received from Russia and France, the Emperor would announce to both powers that they had brought about a state of war with the German Empire, he added: "Thus my explanations have met with the general approval of the High and Federated Governments. If the iron dice are now to be rolled, may God help us."

The declaration of war on Russia was delivered to Count Pourtalès, the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg, on Aug. 1,

at 12:52 A. M., with instructions to deliver it on Aug. 1, at 5 P. M., Central European time. The declaration itself was not handed to M. Sasanov by Count Pourtalès until 7 P. M. on the day in question. The German declaration of war on France was delivered to Herr von Schoen, the German Ambassador at Paris, by telegraph on Aug. 3 at 1:05 P. M. and was put into the hands of M. Viviani, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, at 6 P. M.

According to information hitherto available, the German General Staff neither exercised nor sought to exercise any influence on the despatch of these declarations of war. The assertion that the General Staff deliberately concocted the false reports concerning the dropping of bombs on Nuremberg by French airmen in order in this way to force a declaration of war, can have no bearing whatever upon the declaration of war on Russia, as war with Russia had already been declared when the reports of the General Staff concerning the alleged air attack on Nuremberg was forwarded to the German Foreign Office. The story that the declaration of war on France had been forced by means of the alleged air-attack would only be feasible if the Bundesrat had refused its assent to a declaration of war and if the General Staff had by this means wished to make it possible for the Kaiser to declare war on the score of German territory having been attacked. According to the Constitution the Kaiser would have been able to do this on his own responsibility.

Gerard seems to have overlooked the fact that there was an earlier draft of the declaration of war on France in which there was no mention of the report concerning the dropping of bombs on Nuremberg. In this draft the general strategic position is regarded as the reason for the declaration of war, it being stated that the German Government in reply to its question addressed to France as to whether France intended to remain neutral in a Russo-German war had received an ambiguous and evasive answer. Had Germany been content to accept this vague answer France would have been enabled to range herself on the side of Germany's enemies and "to attack Germany in the rear at any moment with

an army which had been mobilized in the meantime."

A report to the effect that French troops had crossed the Belgian frontier was never made by the General Staff. All that was done was to forward a report based on reliable information to the effect that the strategic concentration of French forces was contemplated on the Meuse, in the neighborhood of Givet and Namur.

STAFF OFFICERS' POSITION

To the realm of fable, of course, belongs Gerard's conversation with Herr von Gwiner, the head of the Deutsche Bank, in which the latter is said to have stated that officers of the General Staff had appeared before the Emperor and had uttered a threat that they would break their swords across their knees unless he signed the declaration of war. In the well-disciplined army of the year 1914, and especially among members of the General Staff, such an act of insubordination toward the Kaiser is quite unthinkable. Only officers who were directly responsible to the Kaiser were admitted to the imperial presence. Among these were the Chief of the General Staff, the Minister of War, the Secretary of State for the Navy and the Chief of the Military Cabinet. In answer to a question on this matter, the former Chief of the Military Cabinet, under date of Feb. 4, 1926, writes:

His Majesty the Emperor was most particular that only men who were officially responsible should express to him their opinions concerning matters connected with their department. With the exception of the Chief of the General Staff, no officer of the General Staff would ever have dared to give the Emperor advice concerning the signing of the declaration of war, to say nothing of trying to force him to take such a step. The latter suggestion is simply ludicrous. No officer of the General Staff could, moreover, have had an opportunity of making such a threat. I was present at all military conversations.

As the signing of the declaration of war did not belong to my department, His Majesty did not mention the matter to me; still less, of course, did I discuss it with him. Without being specially asked to do so, I should never have dreamt of taking such a step. Nor was I asked, the matter not falling within my department.

In order to show that the Kaiser was not urged by those directly responsible to him

in military matters to sign the declarations of war, it is necessary to remember what the military men in question thought about these declarations.

Moltke, the Chief of the General Staff, in his report to the German Foreign Office, dated Aug. 2, 1914, writing on the declaration of war on Russia, says: "A declaration of war against Russia or a declaration of war by Russia against us has become of no consequence, owing to the Russian invasion across our Eastern boundary." In connection with the declaration of war on France, Moltke on Aug. 2 writes to the Foreign Office: "I do not think it desirable that the declaration of war on France should be delivered just yet. On the contrary I anticipate that by withholding it for the present, France for her part will be forced by popular feeling to order warlike acts against Germany, even if war has not been formally declared."

In the notes of the diary kept by General von Falkenhayn, the Minister of War, an entry dated Aug. 1, 1914, reads: "Induce Moltke to go with me to Jagow, in order to prevent the foolish premature declaration of war on Russia."

In explanation of Moltke and Falkenhayn's attitude toward the dispatch of the declarations of war, we may also quote the valuable commentaries of Bethmann Hollweg, Tirpitz and General von Kuhl. Bethmann Hollweg, for instance, writes:

The Minister of War, General von Falkenhayn, considers the declaration of war on Russia to have been a mistake, not because he regarded the war as avoidable once the Russian mobilization had been ordered, but because he was afraid of harmful political effects. The Chief of the General Staff, General von Moltke, was, on the other hand, in favor of the declaration of war, because our plan of mobilization, which had been worked out for a war on two fronts, provided for the immediate commencement of warlike operations, and because our chances in the struggle against mighty and numerically superior forces would depend altogether upon our acting with the utmost rapidity. I concurred with him in this view.

Bethmann Hollweg's statement to the effect that Moltke was in favor of the declaration of war can, as is confirmed by officers belonging to his entourage, only refer to July 31, as Moltke, according to Falkenhayn's diary, had on Aug. 1 already expressed his concurrence with Falken-

hayn's wish to prevent the declaration of war on Russia. In what measure Moltke on July 31 was an advocate of the declaration of war, it has been impossible clearly to ascertain.

General von Kuhl, writing on this subject, says:

THE CHANCELLOR'S ATTITUDE

The Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, considered a declaration of war necessary in deference to the demands made by the military for the commencement of an immediate offensive against France through Belgium, now that the war on two fronts had become inevitable, owing to the Russian mobilization. * * * Bethmann said that the summons to Belgium had had to precede the march through the territory of that country. The assumption on which the summons was based was that we were acting under necessity, i. e., that we were in a state of war. General von Falkenhayn was against the declaration of war, as was also Grand Admiral von Tirpitz.

* * * The then Quartermaster General, Count von Waldersee, who, however, was not present when the decision was come to as to the declaration of war, assures us that General von Moltke shared his opinion that we need only mobilize and that a declaration of war was unnecessary. I have had this view confirmed in other quarters and it corresponds, when all is said, with the actual course of events. General von Moltke did not demand a declaration of war nor did he on the other hand definitely oppose it.

We associate ourselves with General von Kuhl's view, with the reservation, however, that the opinion formulated by him concerning Moltke's attitude with regard to the dispatch of the declarations of war can only refer to July 31. Tirpitz's evidence is also interesting. He says:

On Aug. 1 I learned at the meeting of the Bundesrat that we had sent to Russia a declaration of war following on our ultimatum. I considered this step a very unfavorable one for Germany. * * * The excited exchange of opinion between Bethmann and Moltke continued on Aug. 2 in my presence when we were with the Kaiser at the Castle. Moltke said he attached no importance to a formal declaration of war on France. He referred to a number of hostile acts which had been reported to him as committed by the French and said that in point of fact the war had already commenced and that developments could not be arrested. I repeatedly explained that I could not see why there should be any declaration of war against France at all, as such a declaration always had an aggressive flavor about it. The army

could, after all, march up to the French frontier without any such declaration being sent.

The Chancellor was of the opinion that without declaring war on France he could not possibly send a summons to Belgium. To me such reasoning appeared absolutely incomprehensible.

If we draw the logical deduction from the evidence of these high military personages we see that von Moltke, the Chief of the General Staff, neither demanded a declaration of war nor definitely opposed it, and that Gerard's view that the German General Staff or the "military party," whatever the latter term may mean, urged the declaration of war does not correspond with facts. Nor, of course, does his view that the Kaiser was forced to sign such a declaration.

Gerard's criticism of the German General Staff does not exhaust itself with this reproach, the unjustifiable nature of which will now be clear. We must also take exception to his statement that the General Staff on personal and national grounds wantonly tried to bring about a preventive war. According to Gerard, the German General Staff consisted in the main of officers belonging to the nobility or to the families of the wealthy landed gentry. A glance at the officers' lists for the year 1914 would have convinced Gerard that this was not the case. At the outbreak of the war 139 of the officers belonging to the General Staff were of noble birth and 134 were commoners. Although it is perfectly true that the officers of the German Army were in receipt of very modest, or as Gerard says of miserable pay, no officer of the General Staff would ever have dreamed of trying to bring about a preventive war in order to improve his financial prospects. Gerard's assertion that the General Staff consciously and deliberately tried to bring about a preventive war because the military situation in 1914 was more favorable for Germany than it was likely to be later is not correct. Although at that time it seemed probable that once Russia's big program—the execution of which had already been taken in hand with great intensity—had been completed, Germany's military situation on the east front would become worse, it was no less evident that in the long run France would not be

able to bear the burden of a three years' military service.

Gerard's assumption that the Germans were already turning from militarism and that national service had reached its limits is equally incorrect. As a matter of fact, only 60,000 out of the 120,000 men granted by the Reichstag were put into the national army on Oct. 1, 1913, so that even for the active army only half the supplies granted by the budget were actually employed. The importance of the new Defense bill was not to be sought for in the active army, but in connection with the 60,000 reservists per year whose military value would only have been revealed in the course of several years.

GERMANY'S MILITARY SITUATION

The reports on the military situation that Moltke sent in in 1911 and 1913, and on July 29, 1914, as well as Ludendorff's memorial of December, 1912, are clear proof that the German General Staff was far from regarding the military situation as favorable for Germany. On the contrary, the seriousness of the position was perfectly clear to the German General Staff, and the General Staff repeatedly urged that the military position ought to be improved by modifying Germany's policy of alliances. Here, too, Gerard's interpretation is quite misleading as far as the General Staff is concerned.

As for the superior military equipment of the German Army, Gerard makes no distinction between the condition of German armaments before and during the war. The use of flame throwers and poison gas and tanks developed only in the course of the war. The importance of the German heavy artillery is altogether overestimated by Gerard. If the German General Staff had imagined, as he makes out, that it could with its heavy artillery capture with ease any and every fortress, the German Army would probably not have marched through Belgium. How strongly the French Eastern front had been fortified against Germany was shown later on by the futile German attacks on Verdun.

That the completion of the Kiel Canal

should have coincided with the outbreak of war is due to sheer chance. These extensions to the canal were only finished on June 25, 1914, and had not yet been tested. It was not till July 25 that the Kaiserin was recalled from her trip to Norway in order to make a trial of the Kiel Canal. When the German fleet returned from Norway the Kiel Canal was not used, the first squadron going through the North Sea to Wilhelmshaven, while the second and third squadrons went via the Skagerrak to Kiel. It was only on July 31 that the second and third squadrons, in view of the concentration of the British fleet, were ordered to pass slowly, ship by ship, through the canal. If at the beginning of July the Admiralty had reckoned on war, the canal trial would certainly have taken place not later than the middle of July.

Gerard remarks that the Germans "because of fear allowed the military caste, incarnated in the Great General Staff, to rule their policy and lives." In proof of this statement he drags in various stories of atrocities said to have been committed in the Thirty Years' War and talks about "polygamous priests" and the "sale of human flesh in the butchers' shops." These legends of the Thirty Years' War have long since been relegated to their proper place by Professor Robert Hoeniger, a writer well known in connection with his investigations of the war-guilt question. It would be superfluous to deal with these stories here. It is also quite beside the point for Gerard to maintain that in the years before 1914 the terrors of the Thirty Years' War still had any appreciable effect upon the mentality of the German Nation. If historical reminiscences helped to prevent Germany from altogether neglecting her armaments, this refusal to expose herself unprepared to invasion is to be ascribed rather to the horrors of the Napoleonic wars and to the French attack on Prussia in 1870. In the case of Prussia the memory of the wars of Frederick the Great may also have been an incentive. At any rate the Thirty Years' War cannot possibly have left behind it a stronger impression than will in days to come have to be ascribed to the Peace of Versailles.

II.—Russia's War Spirit Fanned by "Conversations" With Great Britain

By FRIEDRICH ROSEN

Former Foreign Minister of Germany

IN the middle of May, 1914, about six weeks before the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, I received a telephone call from Baron Edmund Heyking, who asked whether he could spend the evening at my home in Berlin. I was at that time German Minister to Portugal and was spending part of the Summer at home. Baron Heyking, originally a Russian subject from the Baltic Provinces, had entered the German diplomatic Service under Bismarck and had filled several important diplomatic posts in China, Mexico, Serbia and elsewhere. A severe illness had obliged him to retire from service and he had since been living in his fine old manor of Crossen in Thuringia. Baroness Heyking, one of the most distinguished ladies in diplomatic society, is well known as an accomplished writer. Her novel, "Letters That Never Reached Him," had an enormous success, 60,000 copies being printed within the first year after its appearance. When Baron Heyking became ill she retired from court life in the capital and devoted herself entirely to looking after her husband. I was therefore rather surprised to learn that Baron Heyking was in Berlin, and was curious to hear what had brought him to town.

"You may be sure," he said, as he made his appearance that evening, "that it must be a matter of some importance which made me leave Crossen. You know that I have many friends at the Court of St. Petersburg. Most of them are countrymen

of mine from the Baltic Provinces. Some of those friends have just written to me from Jena, where they had gone to consult a medical authority. In their letters I found this startling statement, which I must read to you:

"Just before we left Petersburg the Czar received some members of his entourage. Conversation turned on the general political outlook, and

Baron Fredericks, the Minister of the Imperial Household, asked the Czar whether it was quite settled that there was to be war with Germany in the Summer. Whereupon the Czar answered: "I cannot tell you the exact date when the war will begin, but at any rate you had better fully prepare your department for war, as I shall most certainly go to the front with my army!"

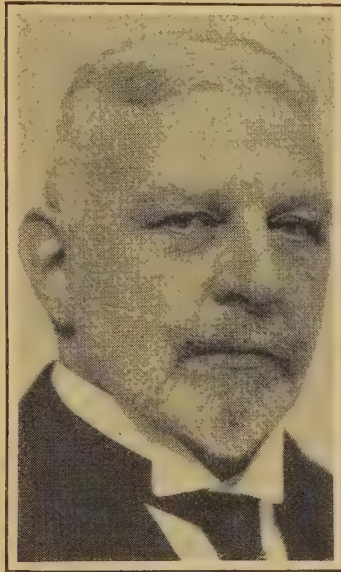
"This is, indeed, most startling news," said I, "and I suppose you have come here to warn the Foreign Office."

"I thought it important enough to do so. I wrote at once to X, but he would not believe me. He wrote me this letter:

"Berlin, March 16, 1914.

"I am very much obliged to your Excellency for the information you sent me yesterday. It is interesting as a symptom of the trend of thought of the peace-loving Czar, but I am inclined to presume that the Russian Government, in compliance with English wishes, if for no other reasons, is not inclined just now to set the war stage for its master."

"Now," Baron Heyking continued, "I have come here to try and convince X



DR. FRIEDRICH ROSEN
Former Foreign Minister of Germany

how seriously the situation must be looked upon."

"And have you convinced him?" I asked.

"I am afraid not. They would not believe it, but they will soon enough see that my information is correct. I have done my duty, but that, unfortunately, will not save us from a terrible war, which we ought to avoid, if that is still possible, or which we ought to meet fully prepared if it cannot be avoided."

IMPENDING PERIL

We spent the end of May and the early part of June with the Heykings at Crossen, where we met the Minister of Colonies. We had many a talk about the impending peril. We reviewed the political situation as it appeared to us at that time. That France was awaiting the proper moment for attacking Germany, no one in this country ever doubted, but this did not imply any immediate menace as long as France was not aided by other powers. The situation was, of course, much more critical if Russia, with a potential military power double that of Germany and Austria combined, really wanted war. I was familiar with the Russian diplomatic game in the southeast of Europe, except perhaps its latest stages, with her constant fostering of the "Greater Serbia" movement among the Southern Slavs, and the pressure brought to bear upon Rumania to renounce her allegiance to the Triple Alliance and to join the anti-Austrian camp. We did not count on Italy, being well informed about her secret agreements with France, which paralyzed her action in case of war. We had no idea as to what England's position would be in the contingency of a European war. There seemed, however, to be no reason why this should be anything but neutrality in any conflict in which British interests were not directly involved. Not one of us thought that the British Government would take any action likely to increase the tension between the Continental Powers. We rather took it for granted that the English nation wanted to preserve peace on account of its world-wide trade and because of the Irish angle.

It is only now, after light has been

thrown upon many of the secret developments that preceded the war, that it has become clear what Russia, supported by France, was systematically working for at that time. After having detached Italy from the Triple Alliance, and after having weakened and dismembered Turkey, using the first Balkan League—Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece—as a tool, Russia now directed her activity against Austria-Hungary, which was to be attacked by a new Balkan League, this time including Rumania, an ally of Austria and of Germany.

RUMANIA'S VOLTE-FACE

Early in the Summer of 1912, when I was German Minister at Bucharest, King Carol of Rumania told me that he had noticed the beginning of a strong propaganda movement in favor of Russia in his country. Russia had been unpopular in Rumania ever since the Berlin Congress of 1878, when she succeeded in maintaining her hold over the Rumanian Province of Bessarabia. But France enjoyed a widespread popularity, especially in the Rumanian capital. French was the language of Bucharest society, and most young Rumanians of the better classes, both men and women, received a French education. It was, therefore, through the medium of France that the change in sentiment was to be brought about. French politicians, artists, actors, men of learning, visited the country and displayed a great activity in the principal towns. The King suggested to me that Germany ought to counteract that propaganda by sending distinguished Germans to visit the country and show his people what Germany had achieved in science, art, music and literature.

I left Rumania in 1912 and was therefore unable to carry out the King's suggestions. Shortly afterward I was told of the great progress the Franco-Russian propaganda had made, and by May, 1914, it had advanced far enough to make it possible for the Russian Emperor to pay a state visit to the King of Rumania at Constantza and to receive the enthusiastic greetings of most of the leading men of the country. Public opinion had been turned away from the Triple Alliance. Unfortunately, the alliance of Rumania with the Central Powers had been kept secret, so

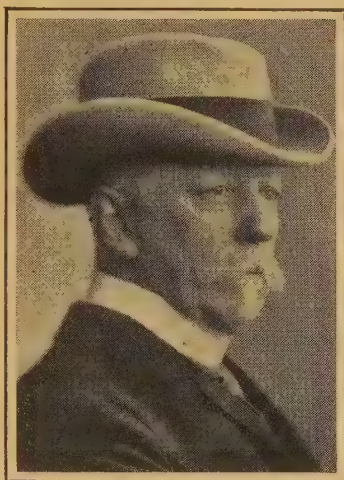
that the nation as a whole was unaware of the fact that siding with Russia in the event of a war between that country and Austria-Hungary would mean a defection on Rumania's part. The uneasiness in Austria was so great that the Government in Vienna thought it **their** duty to warn Berlin of the situation. A memorandum, of which Rumania was almost the sole topic, was drawn up for the German Government. It was pointed out that, whereas up to a recent date Austria could count upon Rumania's joining her forces in the eventuality of a war with Russia and tying up at least a few Russian divisions on her frontier, Austria would now face the necessity of detaching a considerable part of her army to watch Rumania, if not to fight her. Russia, on the other hand, would be able to use against Austria's main forces those divisions which she would have needed to check Rumania. The memorandum drew the attention of the German Government to the difficulty for the Austrian Army of changing all its strategical plans of defense, perhaps at a moment's notice, and erecting sufficient fortifications on the long Rumanian frontier to prevent an invasion of the fertile plains of Transylvania.

The only way out of this dangerous position appeared to be in an alliance with Bulgaria and eventually with Turkey, unless it were possible to induce the Rumanian Government openly to proclaim its loyalty to the Triple Alliance. Should Rumania agree to this course, which was not, however, considered likely, a hope was expressed that King Carol might serve as an intermediary between Austria and Serbia, for the sake of establishing better relations between the two antagonists. Austria would in that case be ready to show herself accommodating with regard to Serbian wishes of an economic as well

as of a political nature. Further than this, the memorandum did not contain much about Serbia. The principal cause of Austria-Hungary's concern was Rumania, whose political volte-face appeared to the statesmen of the Dual Monarchy to increase the imminence of a Russian aggression. The memorandum had been drafted by several officials of the Vienna Foreign Office. It was corrected and partly remodeled by Count Berchtold, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and completed on June 24, 1914, four days before the murder at Sarajevo. This ghastly crime suddenly removed the centre of the cyclone from Bucharest to Belgrade, but it must be kept in mind by students of recent history that up to June 28 it was from Rumania that the storm was blowing and that it was not Serbia, but Russia, that let it loose.

GREAT BRITAIN THE DECISIVE FACTOR

The reasons which made Russia take the lead in bringing about the war were manifold. There was her anxiety not to let Turkey become strong and prosperous through German aid in building railways and irrigation canals in Asia Minor. There was the violent resentment against Austria of Russia's former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Isvolski, then Ambassador in Paris, on account of the annexation of Bosnia. More powerful, perhaps, as an inducement to precipitate war, was the fear of new revolutionary movements in Russia, which, it was thought, might be diverted into war-like channels. And Russia was sufficiently prepared for a great war, notwithstanding the reverses and losses in the Japanese campaigns. French advice and British money had helped to bring about Russia's military recovery in less than ten years, and even German finance had participated in loans destined to complete the system of Russian strategic railways. But above



The late Baron Edmund Heyking, member of the German Diplomatic Service

and beyond all this, there was one strong motive which urged Russia to work for a speedy outbreak of the war, and that was the general political constellation. She could count upon the support of France, Serbia and Rumania, and, subject to certain conditions, upon that of Great Britain as well.

At that critical juncture little was needed to turn the scale definitely in favor of the war party at St. Petersburg. If Great Britain's partnership was certain, then, of course, there was nothing left to stay the Russian avalanche. But what would Great Britain do? That was the great question. Russia was, of course, informed by her French ally of the correspondence which had been exchanged between Sir Edward Grey and M. Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, in November, 1912, by which Great Britain had held out hope of armed assistance to France, in case "either Government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third power, or something that threatened peace." If the measures to be taken in common "involved action, the plans of the staffs would at once be taken into consideration and the Governments would then decide what effect should be given to them." I will not dwell here upon the effect of this correspondence on French policy. The mere fact that the general staffs of France and of Great Britain, as well as the navies of the two countries, were concerting common action in a war against Germany from 1905 onward was bound to revive the idea of a war of revanche. The whole of the French fleet was concentrated in the Mediterranean; the Channel and Atlantic coast of France were to be protected only by the British fleet, and England would thus be automatically drawn into any armed conflict that might arise between France and Germany.

But supposing the conflict were to arise elsewhere than in Western Europe, say between the Central Powers and Russia, what could in that case have been the working of the Grey-Cambon agreement? It would have amounted to the same thing, because under the terms of the Franco-Russian Alliance France, though not directly involved, would necessarily be drawn in. This being so, the following

event related by Viscount Grey in his chapters on "The Last Days of Peace" deserves the greatest attention.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN NAVAL AGREEMENT

Grey takes great pains and fills more than five pages to explain the motives of the visit of the King of England to Paris in April, 1914, and to describe it as perfectly harmless:

On the last morning, however, I was asked to go to the Quay d'Orsay. Bertie and Cambon were present, and I think one or two of the staff of the Foreign Office, besides myself and the French Minister for Foreign Affairs. As far as I recollect, it was Cambon who mainly conducted the conversation with me, as he was used to conversing with me in London. The French said that there was nothing in the relations between France and Britain of which they felt it necessary or wished at that moment to speak. But there was something they wished to ask as regards Russia. Russia knew of the conversations between the British and French General Staffs, and, in order to make Russia feel that she was not kept at arm's length, it was very desirable that there should be something of the same kind with Russia.

Grey was then asked to make a naval agreement with Russia as

geographical separation made it impossible for British and Russian armies to fight side by side against Germany, as British and French armies might do. * * * There was, however, no reason why British and Russian naval authorities should not have some previous consultation as to the parts to be played by the respective fleets in the event of Britain taking part in a war. The French did not themselves attach great importance to this from the point of view of strategy; they did not estimate very highly the value of the Russian Fleet in a war against Germany. But they did attach great importance to it for the purpose of keeping Russia in good disposition, and of not offending her by refusing.

Space, unfortunately, does not allow me to quote the following pages of Grey's book, in which he further reflects upon the motives of the French demand for Russo-British naval conversations, which "were to be a further provision for a war with Germany." He can quote nothing to show that a war with Germany was at that time imminent or at all likely. On the contrary, he had dwelt in a previous chapter upon the perfect harmony which reigned in 1913 between the six great Powers, when they settled in almost daily conferences the many difficulties and dangers that resulted from the Balkan wars. What had hap-

pened since, it may be asked, to call for new provision for a war with Germany? Grey cannot tell us any alarming symptom before the Sarajevo murder. But if he had really desired the maintenance of peace, and if he had been a little more familiar with the European situation of which I have attempted to give a short sketch above, he might have foreseen the effect "these conversations" were bound to have. In the first place, the German Government got wind of those negotiations between the two navies and was naturally filled with the greatest suspicion and alarm. Was there really any meaning in an arrangement between the strongest navy in the world and the few old-fashioned Russian ships which had escaped the destruction of Rojevsky's great fleet by the Japanese at Tsushima? Or were not these conversations dictated rather by a political motive, that of drawing Great Britain into a military alliance with Russia similar to the one she had entered with France sixteen months earlier? Only the latter explanation was plausible, and the German Government realized that it was confronted with one further step in the preparation of a general war against Germany.

A new agreement with Great Britain meant the certainty that in a war against the Central Powers Russia would find Great Britain in action at her side, and Russia was not slow in drawing the obvious conclusions. Russian activity in Rumania became more menacing than before,

and the Czar paid his visit to the Rumanian King at Constanza. This increased the uneasiness in Vienna, as was seen in the Austrian memorandum quoted above. At the same time, Russia's activities in Serbia were likewise greatly stimulated, and there is every probability, almost a certainty, that Russian agents were not strangers to the plan of murdering the Austrian Archduke, as has been shown in two remarkable articles by Professor S. B. Fay in *CURRENT HISTORY* of October and November, 1925.

I wish to confine myself in this article to events which preceded the Sarajevo murder. There can be no doubt that the Anglo-Russian naval conversations were the final factor that enabled the war party at St. Petersburg to gain the upper hand with the weak Czar and with those Russian politicians who were still undecided. King George's visit to Paris in April, 1914, was the turning point, not the Sarajevo murder, which took place at the end of June. It was after that visit that the tone of Russian diplomacy and of the Russian press changed from latent to open hostility toward Germany and Austria. By the time the Archduke and his consort fell victims to the Serbian plot the war had already been decided upon by those who wanted to change the map of Europe. And it is not astonishing that the Czar was able as early as in May, 1914, to give instructions to Baron Fredericks for the eventuality of a war which he was unable or unwilling to hinder.



West Point Today

By ROBERT GINSBURGH

Captain, United States Army, and graduate of Harvard

I WAS standing on the platform of a West Shore train at Weehawken when I suddenly became conscious of an animated discussion in the smoking car. I was too polite to enter, but not polite enough to close my ears. Besides I was a junior officer in the army and I had every reason to believe that the occupants of the compartment were the campaign-hardened Colonel and the square-jawed Major who had entered the train just before me. I was in civilian clothes and unknown to my seniors, but military habits are so strongly inculcated that intrusion into their midst was not to be considered.

"The military academy has gone to the dogs," I heard in emphatic tones. "Discipline just shot to hell. Think of it. Cadets smoke in their rooms, get their 'boodle' from home regularly, go out on week-end passes and what not. Times have certainly changed."

"They have indeed, sir, but for the better, and the academy is keeping pace with them."

The blowing of whistles and the rumbling of wheels made further listening rather difficult and I withdrew to the parlor car. I was on my way to West Point, and all through the rest of the trip these two diametrically opposite views of the West Point of today repeatedly came to my mind, challenging my estimate of the institution. As I dozed off in my seat there arose before me the various impressions West Point had made upon me at different times in my life. There was the West Point of my childhood, an idea formed at an inaugural which made the word synonymous with parades. There was the West Point of my early imagination created from the window of a train passing down the Hudson, when I noticed for the first time its towers and battlements and felt that high upon the hills stood an enchanted castle of a long forgotten age. Then, there was my first close contact with a West

Pointer, the man who commanded my company at the officers' training camp.

I never could make up my mind which he was, superman or devil. How gracefully he carried himself, and what an effort it was for me to walk with my arms swinging naturally by my sides, head erect, chest raised and arched! How easy the most complicated manoeuvres on the drill field were to him, and what difficulty I was having in describing even what the No. 1 man in the front rank did at the command, "Squads right!" How quickly he disassembled the Springfield rifle and put it together without having any parts left over, while I could not even take the bolt apart without the spring hitting my face and the sear losing itself under my feet. The Captain was a marvel. He knew everything. Wonderful men, these West Pointers!

Suddenly my admiration would turn to revulsion. "Hey, you No. 3 man in the rear rank of the thirteenth squad, throw your shoulders back," I can hear now his hoarse yell, and before I could count the twenty or more columns of fours ahead of me to find out the object of his remarks, down he would rush like a flash and shooting a piercing glance at me would shout, "You, I am talking to you; keep your head and eyes to the front." How exacting he was! Why was it not all right for me to explain how to "stack arms" in my own way without using the exact words of the book so long as I knew how it was done? How was I to know that when he ordered us to "poop it cold" he meant *learn it verbatim*? We were not even using the same language. How I trembled when I spoke to him. He never seemed to have a pleasant word or a smile. "The Captain is a martinet," I thought. "What manner of men do they make at West Point? Efficient human machines who function with clock-like precision and expect their subordinates to act like automatons at the

press of a button, or the sound of that sacred word, the command of execution?"

NOT ALL SUPERMEN

There was one incident, however, that placed West Point in a different light for me. There came a brand-new Second Lieutenant from the academy to the company who frequently "gummed the works" to quote our Captain. He erred occasionally on the parade ground. Even we with our six weeks' training saw some of his mistakes. Evidently the West Point graduates were not all supermen. What he lacked in skill, however, he made up in human kindness and never missed an opportunity to assist us in our struggles. I felt that there must be differences of character among those I met in the last eight years—competent leaders, inefficient "buckpassers," quiet men of genius and blustering martinets, all types of human beings.

"West Point," shouted the conductor, and, leaving the train, I was now to see the United States Military Academy and its actual work. As I climbed up the steep hill from the depot it seemed to me that the Gothic architecture, the gray towers and turrets with their heavy granite arches and numerous sallyports, gave the appearance of a feudal fortress. I went directly to the administration building, and while waiting for the Adjutant my eyes turned to the bulletin board, which carried the names of all the cadets in the military academy. "Stober, Asensio, Hoeffler, Brown, Schmidt, Cobb, Timberlake," I read, were the corporals of Company A; "Kirchoff, Forde, Levin, McKinney, Horton," I found were the sergeants in Company C; "Baker, Ankenbrandt, Sims, Bayer, Ehrgoit, Heiberg, Mills, Gross, Johnson, Brusher,"

the leaders in their class standing. "Quite a representative institution," I remarked to the Adjutant, who had stepped up beside me by this time. "Yes, indeed," he replied, "the United States Military Academy is a true cross-section of American life. Every Congressional District in the country, through its representatives, has the privilege of recommending suitable candidates for appointment."

The cadets come from the city and the country; sons of millionaires as well as of day laborers; men prepared in exclusive private academies as well as those who have studied in public and often backward country schools; graduates of colleges with the experience of their 22 years, as well as youngsters barely 17 who were leaving home for the first time. Since the war there is an additional group whose influence is destined to be of great significance. About 150 cadets have received their appointments from the ranks of the National Guard and regular army. There is no danger of a caste system in an army which recruits many of its future officers from the ranks. Added to the democratic basis of appointment is a code of Spartan simplicity carried on in the academy, both by the authorities and by the cadets themselves, which precludes the possibility of



United States Military Academy, West Point

any social barriers ever arising among the men. All dress alike. All are required to have the same equipment and no more. All eat the same food, take the same courses, and are required to submit to the same disciplinary standards.

A visit to the cadet barracks is the most striking proof of the simplicity of life at West Point. The rooms are hopelessly bare, almost hideous to an esthetic sense. Everything is in plain sight. Every bit of equipment is placed in the same position and every cadet is possessed of the same articles. No pictures on the walls, no college pennants that adorn the rooms of undergraduates in most institutions, a table, a bed, a couple of chairs, a water basin, a writing desk, and no more. Accompanied by one of the tactical officers, I visited one room after another, and began to feel as if I were in a monastery. Suddenly I heard the rolling of drums, and the halls seemed to be flooded with happy, chattering young men, a number of them engaged in taking a last puff at a cigarette. Smoking is a new privilege at the academy, and is quite a departure from the rigid code laid down by its first superintendent, Brevet Major Sylvanus Thayer, who forbade the cadets even from reading newspapers without his permission.

INNOVATIONS IN DISCIPLINE

A number of other innovations in the traditional discipline of the corps have been introduced since the war. I asked the tactical officer whether as a result of these changes he thought "discipline was going to the dogs," to repeat the conversation I had overheard in the smoking car that morning. "Not at all," he replied. "We are simply changing with the times and for the better. Smoking is allowed in the rooms, because the world has changed its attitude toward smoking. Some West Point graduates look askance at the introduction of many of our post-war privileges, because they feel that these changes 'nibble' at the democratic traditions of the academy. They point to 'boodle' and week-end passes as examples. When I was a cadet no man was allowed to keep any 'boodle' in his room. If he received any package of sweets it was placed on the dining room table to be shared by his com-

panions. In this way all cadets were kept on a level of equality, and those who came from wealthy homes were not getting fancy cakes, cookies and candy constantly, while the less fortunate cadet, perhaps without any relatives, was getting nothing.

"Under certain conditions cadets of the first class may now get week-end passes. Those who leave the academy usually go to New York, attend a theatre, stop at a hotel and buy a special dinner, all of which is beyond the pocketbook of the average cadet. Although the pass privilege is theoretically available to all cadets, these graduates fear lest in actual practice only those with some outside means be in a position to enjoy it. There is a great deal to be said in favor of these sentiments. Those of us who are here at the academy on duty, however, and who have seen the effect of these changes feel that discipline continues on a high plane, and that the cadets themselves are the most jealous guardians of the democratic traditions of the corps. There are on the other hand some people who feel that we are not changing fast enough to keep abreast of the times. That criticism is in a sense also a fair one, but the academy is run by Government funds, and the authorities consider themselves stewards of a sacred trust. West Point must therefore go slowly in introducing innovations; a principle which applies to our customs as well as to our curriculum."

Asked whether the rôle of the tactical officer had changed since he was a cadet, he said: "A tactical officer in my day was concerned principally in checking up on our failures. The attitude was, 'Here is the academy and its regulations, live up to them or go. My job is to see that you are not overstepping the bounds of discipline that have been laid down for you.' The attitude of a cadet when he saw his 'tac' was, 'I wonder what I have done now.' Today the 'tac' enjoys the confidence of the cadets, is on most friendly terms with them, and devotes a certain portion of the day to taking up their individual difficulties, answering their questions and correcting such deficiencies as stand in the way of making them better cadets and proper material for future officers."

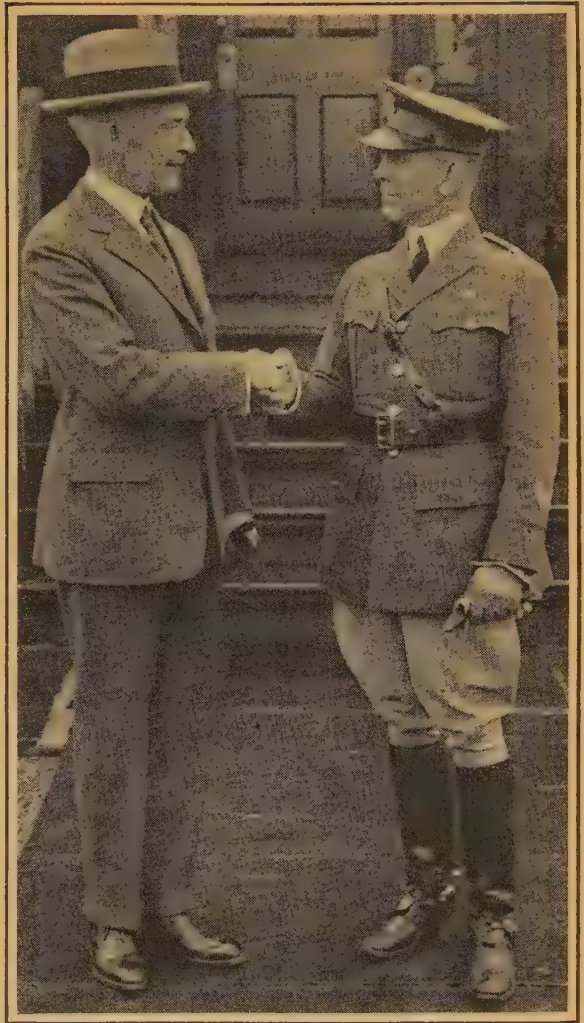
To lay the foundations for an efficient

Second Lieutenant in the army is the primary purpose of the United States Military Academy. Experience has taught that a Second Lieutenant in the army should come into the service equipped with a high sense of honor and a spirit of loyalty, that he should possess the power of analysis so that his mind may reason to logical conclusions and thus be prepared for the greater responsibilities that will become his in due course of time. West Point is trying to train young men in these qualities in many ways—in the precision with which it marches the cadets to all formations, in the perfection which it requires in the most minute details of bearing and dress, in the discipline which it inculcates in the hearts of all cadets, and in the spirit of honor and duty which it imparts. A cadet is taught from the first that his word is his honor. A breach of honor is one violation of discipline that the Corps of Cadets will not tolerate for an instant.

THE CADET'S INITIATION

The West Point code is introduced to the new cadet as soon as he is admitted to the academy. His "plebe" days are indeed trying while he is adjusting himself to his new environment. For two months he is in "beast barracks," where he is given an intensive course in military training as well as in the customs of the institution. Tradition has it that a "plebe ranks the Superintendent's dog, the Commandant's cat, the waitress in the mess hall, the hellcats, and all the Admirals in the whole damned navy." There is no longer any hazing, but every attempt is made to correct in the "plebe" his carriage, bearing and manners, and make him conform to the rigid requirements of West Point.

The cadet has a full day. For example, in his first year he is in the section room from 7:55 A. M. to 9:20; then to the gymnasium to 10:10; at study in his barracks



Wide World Photos

Brig. Gen. Merch B. Stewart, Superintendent of the United States Military Academy since December, 1925 (at right), saying good-bye to his predecessor, Major Gen. Fred W. Sladen, who left to take over a new command in the Philippines

until 12; at recitation from 1 P. M. to 2; at study again until 3; at drill from 3:15 to 4:15 except Wednesdays and Saturdays, free for relaxation and exercise from 4:15 until 6:15 (every cadet must take part in some form of athletics), and back at study from 7 until 9:30. The methods of instruction require every cadet to recite practically every day in every class. The sections are very small, usually averaging about fifteen in number. I visited a class

in thermodynamics. All the cadets were at the blackboard. Each man was giving strict attention to his own assignment; upon completion of his work, each turned and faced the instructor. The officer called on one of the cadets, who made what I considered a perfect recitation. "Star pupil," I thought, but when he called on a second and on a third and even a fourth, and the recitations were just as good, I was greatly surprised. "All the cadets in the academy do not recite that way," I remarked to the instructor. "No," he replied, "but all the cadets in this section do. Men are divided into sections upon the basis of their academic standing, and you have just visited the first section. The academy since its beginning has always divided the corps on the basis of academic standing and those in the higher sections get more work, more latitude in instruction, and are in no way held back by those who are not gifted with the same mental talents or powers of application. Sections are rearranged frequently, by which system competition for academic standing is stimulated."

When I think of the number of splendid lectures that I have slept through in my own college course and the number of recitations that I tried to bluff I cannot help but feel that the West Point system of requiring a man to do his work every day, not merely "cram" for an examination now and then, is certainly a more efficient method of instruction. With every minute of the day to account for, the West Point man acquires the habit of accomplishing a set task in a thorough and expeditious manner. The fact that he is required to recite every day and present his material in a clear, concise manner gives him power and ability to express himself directly and to the point. The competition in the classroom ingrains "the will to win" as an incentive to work. His standing in the corps at the end of his four years determines whether he is assigned to his favorite branch of service. The course at West Point is hard and many men are eliminated who cannot stand the pace. But in spite of it all men hate to leave, and many a "foundling" (as those eliminated are called) has departed in tears.

The teaching personnel at the academy,

though consisting principally of West Point men, has quite a sprinkling of army officers who have graduated from Yale, Harvard and other colleges. A notable increase in non-graduate instructors has been made since the war, and their presence on the faculty adds a civilian background of education which is a leavening influence on an institution devoted principally to things military. In addition it indicates to the cadets that there are other officers in the army besides West Point men who are capable of being their instructors. After they get their commissions West Point men mingle freely with non-graduates in the army. No distinctions, official or otherwise, are made between graduates and non-graduates. Besides West Point graduates, enlisted men from the ranks, and men with a college education or its equivalent, get commissions every year. In the present army three out of four officers are not West Point men.

A MILITARY CURRICULUM

West Point is a professional military college; subjects like mathematics, engineering and tactics predominate in the curriculum. The humanities, however, are by no means disregarded. It is quite obvious that in such an institution the cultural side of life does not receive the same emphasis as it does in an ordinary college. An artist would hardly go to a law school and complain because there was insufficient artistic environment. In the same way West Point is not the place for a man in whom esthetic values or artistic tastes predominate. The academy does include in its curriculum, however, a number of cultural subjects seldom equaled in a professional school. French, English, Spanish, history, drawing, government and economics are all studied at West Point. What the classroom fails to provide on account of the limited time, the cadets try to acquire by themselves. The character of the books they draw from the library shows that their tastes run chiefly to history and classical English literature. The study of Government and economics is a post-war addition to the curriculum. Familiarity with current topics, foreign affairs, the science of Government and the basic principles of economics have become essential



West Point cadets marching in review

Wide World Photos

to an officer's mental equipment in these modern days.

The West Point man upon graduation has been imbued with the principles of "Duty, Honor, Country," the motto of the institution, and has in addition obtained a sound and useful education. West Point, however, is but the beginning of his training. It is at the infantry school, cavalry school, and similar institutions that the West Point graduate is given further education in his profession; and it is in his service with troops that he acquires the ability to lead and command men. After graduation and within the profession he must look for his future development and training, and his ultimate success lies in

his own hands. All West Point graduates are not competent to be Generals any more than do all those who finish a course at the Harvard Law School have the qualifications ultimately to reach the Supreme Court bench. West Point men in general have succeeded, not only in the army but in civilian life. It was Theodore Roosevelt's opinion that "no other institution * * * has contributed so many names * * * to the honor rôle of the nation's greatest citizens." The guide to success of West Point men rests in their attitude toward life, which is "shoot straight, ride hard, dance well, and so live that you can look any man straight in the eye and tell him to go to hell."



China's Students in the Vanguard of Revolution

By RUDLAY THOMAS

An American investigator of political conditions at present living in China

FROM the mass of confusing impressions which bewilder most foreign observers in China today, the student movement stands out as one of the most interesting, and it may well be one of the most significant developments of recent times. The strength of the movement became evident during the disturbances of last Summer, following the shooting of a number of students by the foreign police in Shanghai. Immediately there was an outburst of indignant protest from bodies of students all over the country. It was the students, more than any other single element, who stirred up the country against the foreigner, and their demands carried weight with merchants, factory owners, public officials and militarists, no less than with the working classes of the few industrial centres. The students covered the country, and as a result the usually quiet and self-centred peasant of many an isolated village did something that he had rarely done in the past—he took a profound interest in the course of events in distant Shanghai, and perhaps even joined in his small way in the boycott movement against British and Japanese goods.

For a number of years the students of China have been organized into unions which are federated into a national organization. Branches of these unions are to be found in a majority of the middle schools and colleges of the country. Locally, the many branches that are to be found in such a centre as Shanghai, Peking or Wuchang and Hankow, coordinate their work through a council, composed of representatives from the various member schools. The various local organizations seem to keep in touch one with another by means of "committees of correspondence," if one may for the purpose borrow an American revolutionary term.

The result is that a disturbance which develops locally may speedily become a national movement covering the country. It was so in the case of the patriotic movement of last Summer.

The entire trouble in that case began with a concerted movement on the part of the students attending schools in Shanghai to call the attention of the Chinese public to certain conditions in Japanese mills which were far from satisfactory. During their campaign to educate the public on the subject of these conditions, some of the students, backed by a mob of miscellaneous elements, came into conflict with the foreign police of the International Settlement, with the result that a number of the boys were shot. Almost immediately the movement, which so far had been local to Shanghai, spread like wildfire to other parts of the country, and what was originally a protest against certain economic conditions speedily became a violent outburst against the political position of foreigners in China.

During the entire Summer the students, most of whom had abandoned their studies by striking shortly after the incident of May 30, 1925, continued their agitation throughout the country. Some who returned to their homes carried the germs of discontent to isolated districts far distant from Shanghai. Others traveled over the country delivering speeches designed to stir up the common people against the aggressive actions of foreign powers, or organizing the boycott and strike movements. Still others, who remained in Shanghai, were powerful factors in prosecuting the boycott movement against foreign goods, and in keeping alive the discontent of the strikers. They pressed the merchants not to buy or sell any more British or Japanese made goods. The powerful Shanghai Chamber of Com-

merce was practically forced to declare itself in favor of the boycott, in spite of the fact that many of its members had millions of dollars worth of British or Japanese goods in their warehouses, on which they stood to lose considerable sums of money if the local markets were closed to them. The pressure of the student union and the labor unions, however, was too strong to be resisted, especially since the boycott was "patriotic," and any Chinese opponent of it was sure to be branded by the students as a traitor to his country. One is inclined to marvel at the ease with which a comparative handful of school-boys and their labor allies were thus able to tie up the commerce and trade of a great port for an entire month.

ADMINISTRATORS INTIMIDATED

Not only are powerful chambers of commerce intimidated by the student movement, but even the chief executive of the country has occasionally been forced to discharge a high official under pressure from the students of Peking. In May, 1925, the Minister of Education was under fire, because he forbade the students to engage in anti-Japanese agitation on "Humiliation Day," the anniversary of the date on which the Chinese Government was forced to assent to the notorious Twenty-One Demands of Japan. The students promptly asserted their right to demonstrate by marching en masse to the Minister's office to demand that the obnoxious orders be rescinded. Officials at the Ministry seem to have informed the leaders of the crowd that the Minister was not at the office, but at his home. To the residence of the Minister the students then proceeded, only to be informed when they arrived that he was assuredly at his office. So infuriated were the students at their evident deception that they attacked the few police who had been detailed to guard the house, broke into the place, and smashed up a considerable amount of furniture. About a dozen students were arrested for their share in this disturbance, and the report gained currency that three of the students had been killed in the encounter with the police. Most of the students in Peking thereupon went on strike, organized demonstrations in the streets, and

marched to the residence of the chief executive himself to demand redress. Included among their demands was one for an indemnity for the deaths of the three students. It developed later that two had not been killed, and that the third, who was in the advanced stages of tuberculosis, had dropped dead from excitement.

The significance of the incident seemed to lie in the fact that a crowd of school-boys, many of them not yet out of their 'teens, could successfully intimidate not only the Minister of Education, but also the chief executive, Tuan Chi-jui, himself. The latter met the demands of the students in part by releasing the boys who had been arrested, but he refused to accept the resignation of Chang Shih-chao, the Minister of Education. The unpopular Minister finally did give up his post as head of the educational system but remained as Minister of Justice. Thus only did the Government "save its face."

When the trouble of May 30, 1925, broke out, the students immediately posed as exponents of the new nationalism and as saviors of their country against the menace of foreign imperialism. Throughout the Summer the students continued their patriotic activities, collecting funds for distribution to the strikers in Shanghai, exhorting the laborers to continue in their refusal to negotiate their differences with the "imperialistic" and "capitalistic" employers, and keeping close watch to see that no Chinese merchant violated his agreement not to remove foreign goods from the warehouses. At the same time the general public was kept aroused by lurid accounts of the latest misdeeds of the wicked foreigners. Handbills and other literature, in addition to public meetings, served to keep the public attention focused on the question of "imperialism." Strict devotion to the cause of truth can hardly be said to have characterized this campaign of propaganda. The slightest details were grossly exaggerated, and the facts were used or abused in accordance with the needs of a particular situation.

With the opening of school in the Fall of 1925, most of the students returned to their class rooms and their books, but in some cases they demanded that their schedules be reduced in order that they

might have more leisure to engage in "political" or patriotic activities. The students of Peking, who are variously estimated to number between 20,000 and 30,000, were especially interested in the tariff conference. The most radical of them opposed the conference in the first place because the power to fix her own tariff rates was considered to be inseparably bound up with China's "sovereign rights," which were not to be made the subject of any negotiation between China and the foreign powers. Occasionally they carried their opposition to the point of violence, in one instance wrecking the office of a Chinese newspaper which ventured to disagree with them. When the Peking chief of police attempted to keep their radicalism within bounds, President Tuan Chi-jui was again intimidated to the point of discharging the obnoxious official. In this case, however, one cannot be sure that the change was not part of a larger struggle between the two militarists, Feng Yu-hsiang and Chang Tso-lin for control of the Peking Government.

STUDENT RULE IN SCHOOLS

Within schools, particularly the Government institutions, the demands of the students that they be allowed to control themselves has been the despair of both teachers and administrators. Should a particular instructor incur the displeasure of his students, he stands little chance of retaining his position. Undergraduates have demanded and sometimes secured a voice in the administration of the school, and they have been known to oust the President of a college or middle school because he has resisted their demands. Examinations frequently were given if and when the students wanted them, and when the students occasionally desired to take no examinations at all, none could be given. Recently when a certain government school in Wuchang lacked a head, it was found extremely difficult to persuade any educator possessing the necessary qualifications to accept the Presidency, all because of the notorious unruliness of the students there. The appointment was finally offered to a locally prominent gentleman of strong views. He refused at first, but after being prevailed upon to

reconsider the offer, he went to the institution in question to survey the ground. In his address to the student body, he expressed his willingness to accept the Presidency provided he was vested with complete administrative authority. But he warned the students that if he came, he would rule them with a whip. One does not hear that he was pressed further.

From one point of view, the student movement, as must be evident, represents a revolt against constituted authority. Liberty is in the air, and the students are demanding the fullest measure of liberty. Probably the unruliness of the students constitutes only a phase of the same current of unrest and discontent that was responsible for the revolution against the alien Manchus. Change in China concerns both institutions and ideas. Of the latter it may be said that the old philosophy of duty is being replaced by a newer philosophy of right. The time-honored authority of a father over his children is being cast aside by a rising generation of students trained in modern schools. Some are demanding the right to choose their own wives, and some of the girls are even asserting their rights to select their husbands. Such a proposal would have scandalized a conservative old Chinese gentleman a generation ago. One must not think, however, that the sons or the daughters are meeting with universal success in their desire to select their life mates. Nevertheless many of them are protesting against the ancient prerogative of the father or the dictatorial old grandmother to arrange their marriages for them, and the chorus of protest seems to be growing. The married sons are also sometimes asserting their right to set up their own domestic establishment instead of living in a common household with the numerous other members of the family.

With the revolt against various social restrictions of which the ties of the large family constitute only a single example, there is also a revolt against the things that are old and sanctified by the traditions of innumerable generations of Chinese people. Confucius is not held in the same esteem that he once was. The semi-annual celebrations in his honor, formerly held with impressive ceremony in numer-

ous temples scattered over the country, have degenerated into a perfunctory and sometimes tawdry formalism. The attitude of many students seems to be exemplified by the remark of one youth, perhaps sixteen or seventeen years old, who was being given a hearing before the Mixed Court in Shanghai in consequence of his part in the disorders of May 30. When confronted with a certain maxim of Confucius which emphasized the deference which a youth should show for constituted authority, the boy intimated his belief that since Confucius had been dead for something over 2000 years, his opinions were hardly applicable to the problems of the present day. Similarly many other youthful idealists of the student class are throwing overboard the teachings of the ancient sages because those teachings seem to contain no answer to many of the social and political problems of the present. The modern student demands to be shown that the ancient ideas are *useful*. He does not care how old they are.

The semi-foreign trained student in China today is consequently no longer an authoritarian. In his disappointment at the discovery that many of the beliefs of his conservative ancestors seem not to be immediately useful, he has abandoned much of the customary teaching of his people, the good along with the not so good. The idea of progress and change has replaced the former idea of a fixed order of things. He demands above all the liberty to think and decide for himself, and if representatives of the old authority, whether parent or school teacher, stand in the way, woe be unto them. His state of mind is akin to that of the utilitarians and the pragmatists of the West. Bentham he finds most interesting. There has been a revival of interest in an old writer, Moh-Tih, or Moh-Tzu, generally referred to by Western writers as Micius. Formerly Micius was classed with the "heretics" who had ventured to differ from the orthodoxy of Confucius and Mencius. Now he is studied and has a large following. One finds the reason, perhaps, in the fact that Micius was a utilitarian. He even argued against music, because he considered it to be a useless luxury. He was a humanitarian, but his humanitarianism was based

almost entirely on utilitarian principles.

MATERIALIST STANDPOINT

Micius is only typical of the class of philosophers who are acquiring a hold on the student mind of China today. The tendency is frankly materialistic. It has been remarked that whereas the intellectual classes of the country received John Dewey and Bertrand Russell, both materialists, with a great deal of enthusiasm, they listened to Tagore, the mystic, with merely polite interest. Dewey and Russell are quoted on every hand; Tagore almost never.

As additional evidence that materialism tends to become the gospel in China, one may point to the almost universal conviction among the students that the strength of the West, in contrast to China's weakness, is founded almost entirely on the West's knowledge of applied science. The foreigner is strong because he knows how to build battleships and cannon and manufacture superior gunpowder and rifles. There is almost no appreciation of the underlying moral basis of Western civilization. As an instance, in the West there is a political morality which does not exist in China, an honesty in the discharge of public duties, a sense of common responsibility and a public vision, which one finds most uncommon in China.

The Chinese student desires his country to be strong, and the sort of strength he appreciates most at the present time is military and naval strength. That single fact is an indication of the change that has taken place in the direction of Chinese thought. The Chinese are notably a peaceful people, and in their personal dealings one with another they rely far more on mediation and compromise than on the employment of force. Now one finds evidence of an aggressive spirit, particularly among the students, which aims to establish and protect their national rights by force of arms. Around Shanghai considerable numbers of students have designed and are wearing a sort of cadet uniform, which may or may not have a military significance. Throughout most of China's history there has usually been a complacent assumption that right and justice must ultimately pre-

vail, no matter what the odds. Now one hears it said frequently that China will never secure justice in the world until she is strong enough to back up her demands with armed force.

It must be said in favor of the students that they are probably the only nationally self-conscious group in the country. The present disunity of the country is not so much a defect of organization as a defect in the mental outlook of the average man. The people think in terms of localism and provincialism. One finds thousands of students thinking, however, in national terms. The very fact of their national Student Union organization is evidence of their essential solidarity. And it is the students, moreover, drawn toward various educational centres from every section of the country, who are learning to forget their local differences in the course of four years of common association in a particular college or university. The students are responsible in a large degree for the spread of the national ideal among the common people over the country. If they seem to be anti-foreign it is because they are so intensely Chinese, and with their broadened outlook on the world they feel the humiliation of China's position as a nation. In their youthful idealism, they look forward to the day when China will be a strong and prosperous and respected member of the family of nations.

If the student is resentful of foreign interference in China and of the subordinate position which the country now occupies in the world, he is no less resentful of the domestic evils within the country which require redress. Militarism is condemned in the abstract, but the student frequently retains a curious admiration for such successful military leaders as Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin. The apparent contradiction between the abstract and the concrete is probably due to the fact that both leaders advocate the unification of the country by force, and the Chinese student, as already indicated, has a constantly growing respect for force as a means of getting results.

ATTACKS ON CORRUPTION

Few students neglect an opportunity to inveigh against the widespread corruption

of public officials. Their superficial knowledge of the political organization and methods of the West leads inevitably to the desire that similar standards might prevail in their own land. The attack upon Tsao Ju-lin in 1919, originating with the students of Peking, was due to the political corruption of that notorious Anfu leader, as well as to the even more important fact that he seemed bent on handing his country over bodily to the Japanese.

There can be no doubt, either, that the same movement of the students in 1919 stirred up sufficient popular resentment against the Shantung decision of the Peace Conference to strengthen the Government in its decision not to allow the Chinese delegates to sign the Treaty of Versailles. One wonders what might have happened if the nationalist sentiment of the students had been as strong and their national organization as well perfected in 1915, when Japan forced the Twenty-One Demands on her helpless neighbor.

The students are coming to be more and more hostile to Christianity. Three reasons may be noted: First, is the fact that, as a result of the current trend toward materialistic habits of thought, the student has little faith in the utilitarian value of any religion, whether it be Christian, Buddhist or Taoist. Religion to him is an outworn superstition which in an age of science and practical problems is no longer useful. Second, the student frequently suspects the motives and sincerity of those who are bringing the Christian idea to him. Why should these missionaries abandon the comforts of their homelands to preach religion among the Chinese? If it is not because of the greater comfort of life in China it must be because of sinister political reasons. And in any case the policies of the Western powers in their dealings with China seem not to square with the religious teaching of the foreign missionaries in the country.

The third reason for the hostility of the students toward Christianity is that the mission schools in China are controlled by foreigners, either directly or indirectly. They are usually not a part of the national system of education, if one may say that a national system of education actually

exists. The strongly nationalist student class resents the control of even a portion of the educational system of the country by aliens and to a lesser extent resents the strict discipline of the mission school. Citizens of the new China, the students think, should be given a Chinese education in Chinese schools, not a semi-foreign education in foreign mission institutions where classes are usually conducted in a foreign language. Curiously enough, however, most students cherish a hope of some day going abroad to study, and if the popularity of the mission colleges is ever restored, it will be because they are superior to Government institutions in their preparation for this study abroad.

It seems totally illogical that seasoned politicians or men as old and experienced as those who compose the governing body of a Chamber of Commerce should submit meekly to the demands of immature youngsters. One reason, however, is undoubtedly the fact that in the past the students have usually espoused what seemed to be a more or less patriotic cause. To oppose them was to be branded publicly as unpatriotic. Another reason is to be found in the prestige that has always attached to the scholar class in China. From time immemorial the literati have been held in the highest esteem. The students have inherited the ancient prestige of the literati. One of the students accounted for the prestige of his class by saying that "the people see that the students are young and innocent. They can do no harm, and they might do some good." The statement if true would indicate that the people have turned to the students as a last resort in their desire to see order brought out of chaos.

Perhaps the student movement of China is only a phase of a world-wide movement of youth against the way in which their elders seem to have mismanaged public affairs, particularly in the field of international relations. In China, the younger generation is inclined to hold past generations responsible for the sad condition into which their country has fallen. The old men are selfish and cynical. They have betrayed their country, they have robbed the public treasury, and they have engaged in ceaseless strife and warfare

among themselves, all in opposition to the interests of the common people. The older generation has been weighed in the balance and found wanting, and the youth of the country thinks it is about time a new and better order of things was established.

One does not find agreement among either the Chinese or the foreigners as to the merits of the students' movement. Among the Chinese there is Chang Chien, a respected scholar and industrial leader of Kiangsu Province, who has publicly condemned the assumption of authority by radical students because it threatens to bring their country to the absolute brink of chaos and ruin.

In favor of the movement, one may say that it has been responsible in no small degree for the growth of a national consciousness on the part of the Chinese people; that it has focused public attention upon a number of political and social conditions which are far from being ideal and which demand correction. Moreover, it represents energy and a sort of idealism, both of which are necessary before those unsatisfactory conditions can be corrected. On the other hand, it may be said that the students take themselves too seriously. Their self-confidence is so abundant that it recognizes no limits. However valuable may be the service they render in crystallizing public opinion on various matters, and in expressing the popular discontent with things as they are, the students are venturing into deep water when they assume to reconstruct on the ruins of what they have destroyed. Reconstruction requires more intelligence and experience and wisdom than the immature students possess.

There is danger, furthermore, that the present revolt of the students against all sorts of authority may breed a generation of chronic insurrectionists, lacking in self-discipline, and perpetually restless. Nevertheless, if the strength of the movement can be marshaled against the aggression of foreign powers, and against notoriously corrupt officials who are not above bartering the resources of their country to foreigners, it may also be directed against the tyranny of militarists and the dishonesty of officials whose fingers are perpetually in the public purse.

Turkey Walks Abreast With the Modern World

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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THE New Turkey, in its process of westernization, reached during the last session of the Grand National Assembly the adoption of three new codes of law, civil, criminal, and commercial. Attempts had first been made by commissions appointed for the purpose, to draw up codes based upon the previous practices of the country, with comparison of codes used in other countries. It was discovered that this would necessarily be a very long and complicated process, and that in the end the result might very well be distinctly unsatisfactory. The alternative plan was therefore followed of selecting completed codes as worked out in European nations, whose circumstances resembled most closely the conditions of life in Turkey. These codes were translated into Turkish and adopted with little change. The civil code was taken from Switzerland, the criminal code from Italy and the commercial code from Germany. Of the three the first is by far the most significant, inasmuch as it unifies and modernizes that portion of the older Turkish law which was most complicated and least adaptable to modern conditions. The remarkable speech (a translation of which is given below), which Mahmoud Essad, Minister of Justice, made before the Assembly in February, 1926, was occasioned by the presentation of the new civil code to Ismet Pasha, the Prime Minister.

The older laws of Turkey as regards persons, family relationships, and property were produced during several centuries out of the Mohammedan law as this had been developed under previous conditions in the Near East. Before the middle of the nineteenth century there existed no separate codes summarizing the different subdivisions of law. Different régimes existed as regards Moslem Turkish citizens of Turkey, as regards other citizens

of Turkey, and as regards foreigners resident in Turkey. The law as regards real property was substantially the same for all, being that primarily applicable to the Moslem Turks. As regards, however, the law of persons and the family, the system applied was that of "the personality of law." The basis of discrimination among citizens of Turkey was primarily religious and secondarily linguistic. As regards foreigners discrimination was based on national allegiance. The result was that a score or more of systems of civil law were applicable within the boundaries of Turkey.

Non-Turkish groups within Turkey were organized as nationalities, or *millet*s, each having a charter which permitted the use of its own laws in most civil matters with the exception of real property. The foreign groups lived in relationships with the Turkish State which were determined by the body of rules known as the Capitulations. While deriving their central ideas from a long chain of agreements used in the Orient from very early times, when citizens of one country, observing the religion of that country, resided for considerable periods of time within the boundaries of another country, the Capitulations which determined the status of foreigners in Turkey developed through a series of treaties between the Ottoman Empire and France, of which the first was ratified in 1536 and the last in 1740. Through the principle of extending to all nations rights which may be accorded to the "most favored nation," the Capitulations had secured for foreigners "extra-territoriality," according to which in most respects the foreigners were governed by their own laws. The events of the last ten years, in particular the expulsion of most of the Greeks and Armenians from Turkey, the separation of the Arabic-

speaking lands, and the abrogation of the Capitulations (decreed by the Turks in 1914 and confirmed by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923) have swept away all special arrangements for non-Turkish and foreign groups.

BASIS OF MOSLEM LAWS

The civil laws of the Moslem Turks themselves rested upon a foundation which went back to the beginning of Mohammedanism. The primary basis was found in the Koran, which was held sacred in the belief that it had been revealed from God. To this was added a series of traditional sayings attributed to Mohammed. Many scholars, combining the functions of teacher, lawyer and judge, developed systems of law, of which one, the Hanefite, named after Abu Hanefa, became the standard law for Turkish peoples. With the growth of the Ottoman Empire the old Moslem law was adapted, especially in the great work of the time of Suleiman the Magnificent, known as the *Multekaol Ebhar*, or Confluence of the Seas. The vast body of literature thus developed from the Koran onward is known as the *Sheri*, or Sacred Law, and the science connected with it is *Fikh*, which may be translated Jurisprudence. Until recent times this system of law was supported by a set of schools and a series of courts of justice.

From an early period in Ottoman Turkish history it was recognized that the *Sheri* was inadequate for changing conditions. Efforts on the part of its supporters succeeded in enlarging its scope somewhat, but not enough. Accordingly there grew up a body of secular laws, embodied in partial codes called *Kanum-namehs*. These were proclaimed by the Sultan, who often in promulgating them merely wrote down customary law. In theory the secular law never contradicted but only supplemented the *Sheri*. It was commonly administered by a different set of officials, including governors of provinces and districts and mayors of cities. Classes of laws were



Wide World

Turkish women parading without veils to demonstrate their new freedom

not clearly discriminated as between the sacred and the secular laws, but in general the sacred law retained such functions as belonged to the Canon Law of Western Europe in the Middle Ages, including such subjects as the family and the inheritance of property.

In the nineteenth century a series of attempts was made by some Sultans and statesmen to modernize Turkish law. Two great decrees in 1839 and 1856 prepared the way for extensive changes. In the twenty years following the latter date both systems of law underwent serious amendment. A commission appointed to codify the *Sheri* produced in the years 1869 to 1877 an incomplete civil code known as the *Mejelleh*. This code, which can be seen in French translation in the sixth volume of George Young's *Corps du Droit Ottoman*, contains 1,851 articles divided into sixteen books. The greater part of the contents comes under the classification of contracts and property. It omits the important subjects of family relationships and inheritance. Between 1850 and 1871 the old *Kanum-namehs* were superseded by groups of laws, some of which,

as for example the commercial law, were translated almost literally from the *Code Napoléon*. These codifications, with the uncodified portions of the sacred law, continued to be administered in Turkey by two sets of courts down to the end of the World War.

The whole process of Turkish legislation since the Treaty of Lausanne has moved rapidly toward westernization and secularization. All the old courts of justice have been swept away. It may be said that the religious courts have been abolished, and the secular courts, left without rivals, have been systematized. The new civil, commercial, and criminal codes are steps toward supplying the new courts with up-to-date uniform laws. It is probably the case that during a time of transition there will be some holding over of old laws, but the ruthless vigor of the present Government will probably shorten the period of transition greatly, and ultimately bring about, contrary to frequent results of the "reforms" of the nineteenth century, a fairly complete carrying into effect of the new laws.

THE SWISS CIVIL CODE

The Swiss Civil Code, which forms the basis of the new Turkish Civil Code, was adopted Dec. 10, 1907, and came into effect on Jan. 1, 1912. It was the result of a referendum of Nov. 13, 1898, according to which the people of Switzerland transferred from the cantons to the Federal Government the right of legislation in civil matters. Professor Eugene Huber was asked to prepare a preliminary draft. Born in 1849, Professor Huber received his education in Zurich, completing it in 1872 with a dissertation on the development of the Swiss law of inheritance. After experience as editor and judge, he became in 1880 Professor of Swiss Private Law in the University of Basel. Between 1886 and 1893 he produced a great work in four volumes, "The System and History of the Swiss Private Law." Having settled at Berne in 1892 as a university lecturer, he was named by that city a representative in the National Assembly. This long special preparation had made him ready to become the principal artificer of the Swiss Civil Code.

The first draft of this code was published on Nov. 15, 1900. The Government appointed a commission of thirty-one experts, professors and magistrates, to examine the draft. They discussed it in four sessions of two or three weeks each, finishing on May 2, 1903. Meantime the Department of Justice and Police had invited suggestions and observations from all concerned. A new commission, of which Professor Huber was an important member, was appointed to restate the code, and on May 28, 1904, a "project" was presented by the Federal Council to the Federal Assembly. This was debated in detail during the years 1905 to 1907, until its adoption near the close of the last named year. Because of the excellence of Professor Huber's preliminary draft and the long process of discussion, the code was already popular in Switzerland. Nevertheless, four years were allowed to elapse before it should go into effect.

The parts of the code deal with: The law of persons, family law, the law of inheritance, and the law of property. These parts are subdivided into divisions, titles, sections, and so forth. To the total of 977 articles were added 63 more in a "concluding title" which deals with "introductory and inaugurating provisions."

The adoption by Turkey of the Swiss Civil Code is thoroughly revolutionary as regards personal freedom and the marriage relation. Mohammed the Prophet found polygamy and slavery in existence among the Arabs of his time. While limiting the former and mitigating the latter, he perpetuated both, and they therefore became a part of the Sacred Law. Nineteenth century legislation very nearly extinguished slavery in Turkey, and economic progress and the example of Western nations came near to eliminating polygamy. The Swiss Civil Code abolishes both by tacit omission.

TURKISH LAW DISCARDED

The subjoined address of Mahmoud Essad sets forth clearly and intelligently the reasons for the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code. He first criticizes the *Mejelleh* as being limited in scope and five-sixths out of date. He emphasizes the fettering

effect of laws based on religion and points out that a modern State needs systematically codified laws. The Swiss Civil Code has been chosen as "the newest and most perfect and democratic among the bodies of civil law." It is argued that a law which suits perfectly a country containing three races will more easily fit Turkish conditions, where ninety per cent. of the population is homogeneous. Moreover, it is very fitting that a revolution should be followed by a new law code, as was the case in both France and Germany. It is especially desirable that a system of laws should be adopted which is independent of religion. Thus only can national unity be attained. Finally, the new law is extremely important since Turkey has abolished the Capitulations and has received notification that local minorities are willing to surrender the special rights afforded by the Treaty of Lausanne in consideration of the adoption of this code, suitable for Moslems, Christians and foreigners alike.

All these considerations acquire special significance in view of the taking up by the Senate of the United States of the American Treaty of Lausanne. The capable group of men who control Turkish

affairs are hereby seen to be pursuing with much intelligence a course of action which promises to place their people in line with Western progress with an effectiveness far beyond any of the several attempts made by progressive Turks in the nineteenth century. In the *Hatti-sherif* of Gulhane, proclaimed in the name of the young Sultan, Abdul Mejid, in 1839, full equality was promised all citizens of Turkey irrespective of religion and race. The dream of equality has hitherto always come to naught because of the failure to eliminate religious prejudice. The new regulations in Turkey are all fashioned with the greatest care so as to retain no touch of religious discrimination. The régime of the Capitulations and that of the *Millets* have perished beyond all restoration. A single civilization is being established rapidly, which when fully in effect seems certainly destined to provide the Turkish portion of the Near East with a tranquillity, prosperity and hope of progress such as it has not had in two thousand years. The United States of America should no longer belic its past and should no longer remain the last of the great nations to recognize the sincere effort and real progress of the new Turkey.

The Turkish Government's New Civil Code

ADDRESS BY MAHMOUD ESSAD, MINISTER OF JUSTICE, ON THE PRESENTATION OF THE NEW TURKISH CODE OF CIVIL LAW TO ISMET PASHA, PRIME MINISTER, FEBRUARY, 1926

AT the present the Turkish Republic has no codified civil law. We have only the Book of Turkish Law (*Mejelleh*), which relates to the single subject of "Contracts," and that only in part. It has 1,851 articles. The writing of it was begun on the eighth of Mouharrem (March) A. H. 1286 (A. D. 1868) and was completed on the twenty-sixth of Shahbann (April) A. H. 1293, and was then enacted.

This system of law has only 300 articles which are applicable to modern needs. The remainder are composed of certain regulations and rules too primitive to meet the needs of our country, and therefore have not been in operation. The basis and the source of the *Mejelleh* are religious, whereas the life of man is subject every day and always to fundamental changes. It is impossible to stop or to bind round a point the changes and the movements of life. States which have laws

based on religion will be unable after a little time to satisfy the requirements of their country and the people because religions express unchangeable judgments; but life is fluid. The needs (conditions) change rapidly. Consequently the laws of religion cannot have any meaning or value beyond a form of dead words in the presence of progressive life. Unchangeableness is a necessity of religions.

For this reason one of the most important differentiations of the new civilization from the old, and one of the foundations of modern civilization, has been that religions have become merely a matter of conscience. The laws which take their foundation from religion fetter the civilization in which they are observed and become the chief facts and agents against progress. There is no doubt that our laws which have been inspired by the unchangeable judgments of religion

and which have remained in perpetual contact with divinity have been the strongest factor in binding the Turkish nation to medieval viewpoints and regulations even in this present age. It is contrary to the requirements of modern civilization and to the meaning and the aim of the Turkish Revolution that the Turkish Republic should be kept devoid of a codified civil law which shall be the regulator of national and social life and inspired through it alone.

SIGNIFICANCE OF CODIFIED LAWS

One of the characteristics which distinguish the modern State from the primitive political organization is that the laws in practice which determine the life of society should be codified. In the stages of barbarism laws are not codified. The judge renders his judgment only through custom and precedent. Excepting these 300 articles in the *Mejelleh*, the judges of the Turkish Republic are today functioning by deductions from a jumble of books on jurisprudence, and also from the fundamentals of religion. The Turkish judge is not bound in his judgments by established principles of justice. Therefore, in two identical cases a judgment given in one part of the country may differ and even be contradictory to a judgment rendered in another part of the country. Consequently the Turkish people are being subjected to perpetual fluctuations and lack of uniformity in the exercise of justice. The affairs of the people are being subjected, not to a definite and established justice, but to medieval laws which contradict one another and are haphazard. Democratic justice has been saved from these fluctuations and primitive conditions, and this has made necessary the immediate codification of a Turkish civil law in conformity to the requirements of modern civilization. The Turkish civil law which has now been prepared for this purpose has been borrowed from the Swiss Civil Code, which is the newest and most perfect and democratic among the bodies of civil law. A special commission composed of the most eminent lawyers of our country has performed this duty.

There is no fundamental difference in the needs of nations belonging to the modern family of civilization. Perpetual social and economic contacts have brought and have been transforming a large civilized body of mankind into a family. The objection that this Turkish civil law, the principles of which have been taken from a foreign country, cannot conform, after it has been put into practice, to the needs of our country cannot be considered. We know that the Swiss State contains German, French and Italian races belonging to very different traditions and history. If a law has shown sufficient elasticity to be practiced in an environment which has so many cultural elements in it there can be no doubt that it

will prove that it can be observed in a State like the Turkish Republic, which contains 90 per cent. of homogeneous population. The point of view that the developed law of a civilized nation cannot be put into practice by the Turkish Republic cannot be accepted. Such a thesis logically could mean only one thing, that the Turkish nation is not capable of civilization, whereas the truth of events, present conditions and our history disprove altogether such a position.

We can bring evidence as to regeneration in Turkish history to show that the Turkish nation has never objected to any of the innovations which answer new needs and are reasonable and sane. Whenever reforms have been introduced only those groups whose interests have been infringed upon have opposed them, and this opposition, in the name of religion and false beliefs, has poisoned and misled the people. We must never forget that the Turkish nation has decided to accept modern civilization and its principles without any condition or reservation. The most conspicuous and living practice of this is our Revolution itself. If there are features of contemporary civilization which do not seem adaptable to Turkish society, this not because of Turkish incapacity, but because of our medieval organization and religious codes and institutions.

THE PROMISE OF THE SWISS CODE

There is no doubt that the provisions of the *Mejelleh* cannot apply to contemporary civilization, and it is clear that Turkish national life is not in harmony with the *Mejelleh* and other similar laws. The Ministry of Justice regards the most up-to-date and perfect Swiss Civil Law as a product of civilization, capable of satisfying the intelligence of our nation, which has thus far been kept fettered; and this law code will provide an effective instrument for our national development. We do not detect any point in this law which is hostile to the sentiment of our nation. We must note another point also: that the Turkish nation, which is energetically striving to make modern civilization its own, is obliged not to adapt it to Turkish ways but to adjust our ways to it at all costs. For a nation which has a new career before it this is indispensable. The Swiss Civil Code contains an important part of these requirements. To remain bound absolutely to custom and habit and precedent is a very dangerous theory, which does not allow mankind to progress even one step from primitive conditions. No civilized nation has remained fettered to such a belief; none has hesitated to throw down those traditions and customs which have kept it bound, in order to move forward in accordance with the needs of life. It is not a thing of reason to remain helplessly fettered to beliefs inherited from our forefathers in the face of facts. Fundamental



Ewing Galloway

The Turkish Cabinet in full modern European dress, headed by Mustapha Kemal (in centre)

revolutions have served as the most effective means for this purpose of securing release.

Before the promulgation of the German Civil Law Germany from the point of view of legal procedure was subject to the Roman Law of Byzantium, written 1,500 years ago. In addition to these laws there were the national and local customs. In the East and North of Germany there was the Roman law and the Prussian law mixed with local systems. In the remaining parts of the country French law was in use. Thus for the German people, 33 per cent. were subject to Roman law, 43 per cent. to Prussian law, 7 per cent. to the law of Saxony and 17 per cent. to French law. At that time the German law was in Latin, French, Greek and the local German dialects. As a single instance, in regard to the marriage contract, there were from seventy to eighty methods in Bavaria alone and it was impossible for a judge to be familiar with them all. Before the promulgation and publication of the German Civil Law it was impossible for a person in case of emergency to know what laws he should obey. German lawyers saved their country by one stroke from all these thousand kinds of law rolling down from past ages; they made one special law for the whole of Germany. The law was published on July 3, 1896, and was adopted by the national Parliament without delay. According to the traditionalists, the German Civil Law was considered very theoretical and without value for practical life, whereas after full con-

sideration they could find no single possibility of changing even one item in the new system.

FRENCH CIVIL LAW

The French Civil Law is also the product of revolution. France also trampled upon the old rules and traditions and customs, and put new principles into operation. The abolition of class and land privileges and the taking away from the Church of family prerogatives were the chief innovations. Before the civil law France was governed by various local traditions and customs. In the South there were the regulations from Roman times; in the North there were regulations from German sources. In addition to these each zone had its own civic provisions in regard to civic relationships and the civil law which came as a result of the French Revolution obliterated all antiquated things and established the new laws and regulations in their stead. The most stubborn enemy of the French civil law was the Church because it ended the domination of French Catholicism over civil relationship and especially over family rights. Switzerland, before her civil code, had as many systems of laws as the number of Cantons. The Swiss civil law abrogated once for all those laws which contained various traditions and customs, and put an altogether new code in their place.

These three great movements crushed entirely the "historical school," which desired to fetter

life with dead traditions. In presenting these examples our aim is to show how nations, with one stroke, according to the requirements of the time and civilization have said farewell to old traditions and customs; and this change did not cause any harm or danger as was feared, but instead produced great benefits. To persevere in keeping traditions and customs which no longer conform to the requirements of life causes calamities.

In the laws just mentioned the fundamental thing was the absolute separation of Religion and State. Switzerland, Germany and France have strengthened their political and social activity and their economic and social growth through the proclamation of their civil laws. In the face of these vital exigencies no one has even considered retaining the old customs and the local habits and traditions or religious domination, even in a country like Switzerland, where popular opinion controls to the widest degree. There is no doubt that the aim of law is not to maintain religious regulations, which ought to be concerned with matters of conscience nor to maintain any other old custom; but to aid political, social, economic and national activities at all costs. The first characteristic of modern civilization is the separation of religion from life. Any other course would mean that the law would dominate the consciences of persons who did accept the religious principles of the State. Modern theories of State do not agree with this. Religion should be respected by the State as long as it remains in the sphere of conscience. The introduction of religion into the law has been throughout history a means of satisfying the arbitrary desires of kings and despots and potentates. By separating religion from life, the modern State has saved mankind from this bloody calamity of history and has established for religion a true and eternal throne in the conscience. Especially in States where there are various creeds it is necessary that religion should be separated from law so that law may be enforced throughout the entire social organization, thus ensuring national supremacy. If laws are based on religion in a State which accepts liberty of conscience, it will be necessary to promulgate different laws for the different religious groups. This is contrary to the idea of

political, social and national unity which is a fundamental condition in any modern State.

LAWS FOR FOREIGNERS

It should be remembered that the State is not only in contact with its own citizens but also with foreigners. In such cases we should be obliged to promulgate certain laws of exception under the name of "Capitulations." This is the most important point that has been urged by foreigners for perpetuating the capitulations in our country which were denounced by the Lausanne Treaty. The religious situation has been the chief cause of exceptions to the laws in practice, in the case of non-Moslems, from the time of Mohammed the Conquerer until the present; whereas on the occasion of the preparation of this new civil law, the minorities of our country notified the Ministry of Justice that they surrendered all the rights accorded them under the Lausanne Treaty.

We desire here to mention an event which is valuable in the history of our reforms. 'Ali Pasha proposed to Sultan 'Aziz that the French Civil Law in its entirety should be accepted by Turkey, but this proposal was rejected owing to the interference of Jevdet Pasha, and the Mejlleh was kept in its stead. Of course the Sultanate, which was concerned wholly with its personal interest and had made insincerity its habit, was unable to decide such a question by taking the true interest of the nation into account.

The Turkish nation has, by unconditionally insisting upon all the rights which the modern age has recognized as belonging to civilized nations, also undertaken all the responsibilities required by this code. On the day that the Turkish civil code, now presented for the approval of the Grand National Assembly, the supreme representative of the Turkish nation, is accepted, the Turkish nation will be saved from the false beliefs, traditions and fluctuations which have encumbered it during thirteen centuries past; it will close the doors to the old civilization, and will enter into the contemporary world of life and progress. The Ministry of Justice entertains no doubt that by preparing this law it has fulfilled its national duty before the bar of our revolution and history, and has given expression to the true interests of the Turkish nation.



The Drama of Pilsudski's Career

By CONRAD CLOTHIER LESLEY

Secretary, American-Polish Chamber of Commerce, 1921-1924; organizer, American Economic Mission to Poland, 1923

MARSHAL JOSEF PILSUDSKI is the living embodiment of Polish freedom, the hero of a country temporarily overwhelmed by foreign imperialism, but never crushed.

Brought into prominence again by his recent coup d'état in Poland, his deeds had already earned him the sobriquet of "the strong man of Poland," not only for his accomplishments during the World War and in the Polish-Russian conflict, but for the achievements of a lifetime.

His career has been one of thrilling romance, guided by a spirit of determination, of sacrifice, and of loyalty to an ideal that has few parallels in history. Persecution, imprisonment, all the sufferings inflicted on a patriot by the powers of autocracy, have been his. But, in the face of well-nigh insurmountable obstacles, he persisted in his endeavors for the freedom of his native land, until it became an actuality. Then he partially retired from public life, only to resume leadership when his country demanded his services to prevent internal disturbances.

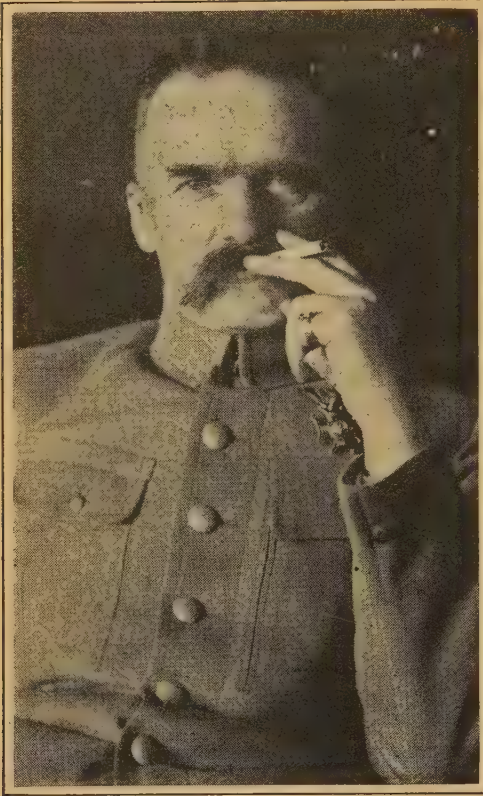
Born on the family estate at Zulow near Vilna in 1867, Pilsudski descended from old Polish and Lithuanian stock, long prominent by their exertions in behalf of liberty from Russian domination. Love of freedom was inherited from his mother, a highly educated woman of lofty ideals and great strength of character, and stimulated during his youth by her teachings. In those early years he was already surrounded by an atmosphere of revolt against Russian tyranny. During the rising in 1863, his father's brother perished, and his father, grandmother and aunts were imprisoned. From the cradle he learned to hate oppression and to aid the deliverance of his nation from alien rule. His mother taught him the Polish language and history at a time when the Polish tongue and all other things Polish

were proscribed. He witnessed the endless procession of political exiles from Poland to frigid Siberia, among them being many relatives and friends of his family, who were among the bitterest enemies of Russian domination.

Upon entering the Vilna High School, Russian teachers held the young Pilsudski up to ridicule and scoffed at the name of his family and their pretensions to Polish loyalty. It was at this time that he swore never to cease his activities until Poland was free and that he began to participate in the struggle for Polish independence. At eighteen years of age he entered the University of Cracow, one of the oldest educational institutions in Europe, and began the study of medicine, but was expelled a year later for his share in student activities for Polish liberty. He returned to Vilna and quickly gathered around him the Polish youth of the district, intent on preparing for the beginning of the long awaited revolutionary struggle against Russia.

In 1887 a delegate of the All-Russian Universities, a radical society of university students, visited Vilna and proposed to the members of Pilsudski's group that they join in an attempt to assassinate the Czar. Pilsudski, as leader, refused to participate, saying: "We are not interested in a change of government in Russia. We are interested only in the freedom of Poland." The attempt was made by others and, as the Russian secret police knew of the meeting at Vilna and had the names of the young men attending, all were arrested and sent to Siberia, Pilsudski among them.

For five years Pilsudski remained in the barren north and subsisted on \$2.50 a month, the allowance permitted political exiles. A general amnesty was granted to some classes of political prisoners in 1892, and Pilsudski was among those released. For two years after his return to Vilna, he



MARSHAL JOSEPH PIŁSUDSKI

was engaged in the formation of the Polish Socialistic Party; its basic creed being Polish liberty. He edited, set type and distributed the party organ, *Robotnik*. This activity soon made him the object of suspicion by the Russian Government and he was again arrested in 1896, imprisoned in the Warsaw citadel and later removed to the Prison of St. Peter and St. Paul in Leningrad. Every effort to prevent his escape was made, and for five years he was confined under the closest surveillance. Through the connivance of Dr. Mazurkiewicz, a fellow countryman and visiting physician at the prison, he feigned insanity. While a file of guards stood watch outside his door, he and the doctor escaped by tunneling out of the prison hospital and escaped detection by dining in full dress at the most famous restaurant in the Russian capital, despite the secret police who sought the missing men and guarded every likely avenue of escape.

Later the fugitives made their way, with the assistance of friends, out of Russia to Cracow in Austrian Poland.

Piłsudski now prepared the framework for a permanent Polish military organization to be used in the cause of Polish freedom when times became auspicious. When the Russian-Japanese war broke out, Piłsudski went to Japan to seek Japanese aid for his plans, promising in return to start a Polish insurrection against the Russians while they were engaged against Japan in the East. Japan not falling in with the plan, he returned to Poland and carried out a masterly plan of obstructing the mobilization of Polish troops which were required to strengthen the Russian forces fighting Japan.

The social revolution broke out in Russia in 1905; and although Piłsudski was opposed to the methods of assassination resorted to by the revolutionists, he took advantage of the internal Russian strife to take the first active steps toward fomenting an insurrection in Poland against Russian rule. His secret military organization, which had been expanding in numbers and strength since its formation, was composed of well drilled and disciplined men. Realizing that former Polish uprisings had failed because they lacked organization, he sought to provide for those deficiencies and at the same time break down the morale of the Russian military forces in Poland. His forces conducted guerrilla warfare in small groups. Every act had a specific purpose and was closely related to the accomplishment of a general plan. Trains were stopped and Russian Government funds taken. These funds were destined to be used against the Polish patriots, while they themselves needed money to purchase arms and provisions for their irregular troops. Passengers were never molested. Railway depots were raided, money taken and, what was more important, the secret plans for Russian mobilization kept in the station safes were carried away, digested and destroyed. The destruction of these plans impeded Russian mobilization in Poland to a very large extent.

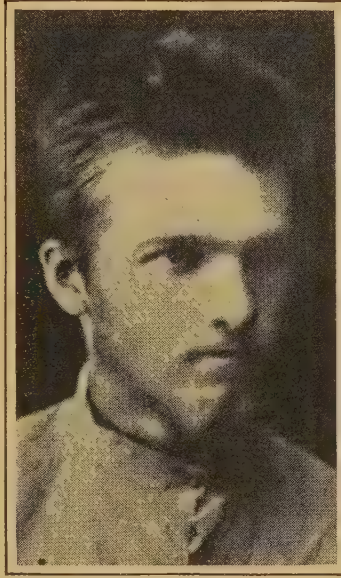
Piłsudski's forces worked silently and swiftly. They came apparently from nowhere and once their work was completed,

immediately disappeared. Russian officials poured troops into Russian Poland until, in 1907, there were over 250,000 soldiers doing police duty there. The drastic and inhuman measures taken by the Russian authorities soon quelled the Russian insurrection and Pilsudski did not feel that his forces were strong enough to fight the Russian might single-handed. He gradually withdrew his men from Russian Poland and dispersed many of them throughout the world. Their mission was to form Polish societies and enlist the aid of the millions of Poles who had been exiled or who had emigrated to all parts of the globe, for the eventual liberation of their native land. Pilsudski and his aid, Sosnkowski, retired to Cracow, where they took up again the formation of a secret military organization in Austrian and Russian Poland. By 1912, there were over three hundred branches of the organization in Austrian Poland and more were functioning in Russian Poland.

The mobilization of the German, Austrian and Russian armies in 1914 involved in each case hundreds of thousands of Poles. All but 1,000 of Pilsudski's trained force of 30,000 men and 800 officers were called to the colors. The thousand men who were mobilized were drawn to their chief at Cracow. Five days after the opening of hostilities he had equipped his men, placed them under the Polish flag and led them against the Russians, proclaiming at the same time the independence of Poland. Germany and Austria were not long in recognizing the tremendous value Pilsudski and his Polish Legion would have on the recruiting of Poles against Russia. The Legions increased to thousands so quickly that the Central Powers realized the danger of having within their lines a force so large that was not favor-

able to German or Austrian expansion. The Polish Legions were sent to the most difficult positions against the Russians. Thus the Central Powers were assured of victory, taking care at the same time that the enormous casualties suffered by the Poles would in time so deplete their numbers that they would cease to be a potent force for the freedom of German and Austrian as well as of Russian Poland.

By 1915 the Russians had been pushed back beyond Warsaw, which was occupied by German troops. Pilsudski ordered a cessation of recruiting in the Legion for the time being, as most of Russian Poland had been recovered. "Russia is beaten now," he said; "next we must fight Germany." Always indefatigable, he again organized a secret military organization—the Polish Military Force, destined to rise against the German mailed fist. Germany, learning of this activity, required the Polish Legions to swear allegiance to Germany and Austria. They were or-



Jan Bulhak

Pilsudski at 25, a prisoner in Siberia

dered to parade in Warsaw in 1917 and take the oath of allegiance. When the oath was read to them, the officers as one man refused to subscribe to it, broke their swords across their knees and stood with folded arms before their men. Officers and legionaries alike were immediately arrested and interned. Pilsudski and Sosnkowski, then his Chief of Staff, were confined in the prison at Magdeburg. There they remained until the German revolution in 1918, when with the other prisoners, they were released by the German Socialists.

The Polish Military Force had been active during their leaders' imprisonment. Pilsudski and his aid hurried to Warsaw, where the Provisional Government set up by the Poles asked him to become Secretary of War. He accepted the position and

his first act was to call out the members of his secret military organization and disarm the occupying German troops. From shops and schools, factories and farms swarmed the Polish Military Force, with scant arms but abundant courage. They disarmed the Germans and sent them home. On November 13, 1918, two days after the armistice on the Western front, the Provisional Government resigned, and Pilsudski was named Chief of State. Subsequently he led the Poles against the Soviet forces and by his defeat of the Russians finally delivered Poland from its last alien oppressors.

Pilsudski refused the Polish Presidency but remained Chief of State until the adoption of a Constitution, the election of a

Congress in accordance with such Constitution and the election of Narutowicz, Poland's first President, who later was assassinated. Pilsudski retained his military rank of Marshal and served as Chief of Staff of the army after his retirement to private life on his farm outside Warsaw. Nevertheless, though no longer in politics, he was instrumental in forming the alliances with France and Rumania as protection from German and Russian aggression.

Pilsudski's recent return to an active part in public affairs was forced upon him because he was the most capable leader available and because of his broad experience, popularity and unselfishness. He is and always has been a fervent patriot, not a despot or dictator.

Pilsudski's Seizure of Power in Poland

By CLARENCE H. DAWSON

Editor of *Poland*, a magazine published in New York

THE events which culminated in the movement on the part of Marshal Pilsudski in seizing the reins of power in Poland with the avowed purpose of establishing what might be termed a "Constitutional Dictatorship" were extremely complicated and extended over a long period. The Polish Republic at its inception in November, 1918, faced a state of affairs that was perhaps without parallel. Sections of three different nations—Russian, German and Austrian—were united into one State. The inhabitants for the most part had been refused participation in their former respective Governments, which resulted in their having practically no experience or precedent to guide them, and they faced the necessity of organizing an entirely new Government—complete from President to postman. In addition to this they faced the ravages of a most devastating war, in which the terrain had probably suffered more than that of any other country, with buildings, roads and bridges destroyed, the population scattered, surrounded by enemy States with the borders undefined, and a condition

closely approaching anarchy prevailing in all sections.

It was on this precarious foundation that the present country of Poland began building. This same Josef Pilsudski of recent fame was released from his German prison and was received with great rejoicing by all parties and factions. Elevated practically by acclamation to the post of Chief of State, he appointed M. Paderewski as his Premier, and together they began the task of reconstruction. The work went on in spite of the many handicaps, until the Bolsheviks swept in and on to the gates of Warsaw, where they were repulsed. During and following the Bolshevik invasion the Constitutional Convention continued its deliberations—deliberations which resulted soon afterward in a constitution which was ratified by the people and which has given Poland its present parliamentary form of Government. At the elections held for the first President, Pilsudski wound up his affairs as Chief of State, refused to be a candidate for election, and retired into private life, where he remained until the present crisis.

Although the Polish Constitution follows rather closely along the lines laid down by Great Britain and the United States, it is rather natural that its parliamentary procedure should nearer approach that of France, to whom Poland has long been bound with friendly ties, and who almost alone among the nations had offered her practical and consistent aid (this with the exception of American relief); and thus following the French methods the

Parliament was divided into approximately thirty different parties, each striving toward the aims to which the party was dedicated, and too often hampering other legislation in an effort to force its own program. The obvious result was to minimize all assurance of stability, and following the dissolution of various Cabinets considerable difficulty was often encountered in the formation of another acceptable to the necessary majority. Thus the



Wide World Photos

Front line trenches in the Battle of Warsaw during General Pilsudski's coup d'état

Polish Government rapidly reached the same impasse that has confronted not only their preceptors, but also Italy and various other Governments. Numerous parties sprang up, each dedicated to certain limited procedures, with the result that all legislation was hindered and no action could be taken save by blocs or a coalition of parties to secure the necessary majorities. The same situation was felt by the heads of the Government, who could retain their places only with the confidence of the majority, and during the four years since the ratification of the Constitution the country has seen fourteen Cabinet changes.

When the recent crisis arose the Polish

political situation reached a state which almost rendered futile some of the best efforts that were put forward. The situation was aggravated by constant accusations of graft, the exploitation of public office for private ends, and the supernumerous Government personnel.

From the economic standpoint the young Republic had made undoubted progress, but stepping forward with too bold a stride had come upon trouble. With the abolition of the old Polish mark and the introduction of the gold "zloty" (par 19.3 cents) a cover of 30 per cent. was required by Parliament. The Bank of Poland was inaugurated with capital from

private subscription, and affairs moved forward with a fresh impetus. The required cover of the national currency was not only observed, but was maintained at a much higher level, at times exceeding 60 per cent. This cautious policy obviously had the effect of decreasing the currency circulation in the country, a circulation which was already so limited as to necessitate a complete turnover three or four times a year to conduct the national fiscal affairs. The financial reform tightened (as usual) an already stringent industrial situation. Manufacturers curtailed the scope of their work, unemployment increased, and the bad state of affairs was capped by the poor harvest of 1924, which made huge imports of grain necessary. The vastly unfavorable trade balance constituted a heavy drain on the gold reserve of the country, and the break came in July, 1925, when the zloty, which for fifteen months had remained practically at par, began to drop. Drastic measures were called forth, including sweeping restrictions on imports and encouragement of exports, an action which from September onward resulted in an extremely favorable trade balance each month.

The entire financial reform was brought about under the leadership of Ladislas Grabski as Premier and Minister of Finance, with Alexander Skrzynski as his Minister of Foreign Affairs. With the financial crisis, however, criticism of the Premier became acute on the grounds that his cautious policy had unnecessarily restricted credits and had hampered economic progress. His Cabinet fell in November, 1925, and he was succeeded by M. Skrzynski, who attempted a coalition Cabinet that would be acceptable to a majority during the crucial period. The new Premier retained his portfolio of Foreign Minister, and although a share of the criticism for Poland's failure to secure a seat on the Council of the League of Nations fell on his shoulders, he still succeeded in constructing a cordon of treaties and commercial agreements binding Poland with most of her neighbors. Jerzy Zdziechowski, Minister of Finance in the Skrzynski Cabinet, proceeded with vigorous measures toward the reduction of the State expenditures and the balancing of the national

budget, and marked progress was made in this direction. His program was approved for the most part by Dr. Edwin W. Kemmerer, American financial expert, who visited Poland during January, 1926, at the request of the Polish Government.

The Skrzynski Cabinet, however, reached its turning of the ways principally through two measures: one the contemplated further reduction of the military, which naturally incensed the entire army and those who advocated strong defense (the recent Russo-German treaty was keenly felt in Poland, and fanned the sentiment that strong protective measures were necessary); the other the proposed decrease in personnel on the State railways, a measure that offended the Socialist and Labor parties, who pointed to the resultant increase of unemployment, and who met the proposal with the resignation of the two Socialist members of the Skrzynski Cabinet, M. Ziemiecki, Minister of Labor, and M. Barlicki, Minister of Public Works.

The resignation of the entire Skrzynski Cabinet, which followed, was postponed for two weeks in order to secure Parliamentary approval of the provisional budget for May and June and to introduce legislation relative to taxation, a balance of the budget, and various military matters proposed by the Premier regarding the supreme command of the army. This measure, it had been hoped, would tend to bring Marshal Pilsudski out from retirement and back into the army as Inspector General, with powers of supreme command in case of war. It was undoubtedly a move to align the Pilsudski forces with the Skrzynski coalition Cabinet. The project failed, however, and the resignation of the Cabinet was then accepted, following the statement made by the Premier to the effect that the suspension of party strife was an indispensable condition for the amelioration of economic conditions, and calling for a new coalition Government based on social peace.

THE NEW WITOS CABINET

The formation of the new Cabinet was beset with difficulties in the face of the shortage of capital, the lack of credit, the unbalanced budget, the forced trade balance, and the general economic situation.

President Wojciechowski first approached M. Rataj, Speaker of the Diet, then M. Trampczynski, Speaker of the Senate, and afterward Deputies Chacinski and Dembski, all heads of their respective parties. On May 10, 1926, the new Cabinet was formed under the leadership of M. Witos, head of the Peasant Party "Piast," who had served as Premier on two previous occasions. Upon his assumption of office the new Premier issued a statement declaring that his Cabinet would continue the policies of the previous Government as regarded financial matters and foreign affairs, and in substantiation pointed to the fact that M. Zdziechowski had been retained as Minister of Finance and that negotiations were proceeding with M. Skrzynski with a view toward his retaining the portfolio of Foreign Minister.

This statement, however, offered little solace to those who had opposed the former régime. The Socialists found nothing gained in their objections to a reduction of the personnel of the railways, while the advocates of a strong army felt that their position had not been improved. In the eyes of some the progress made by the Fascisti in Italy was magnified when laid against a background of Polish political turmoil and economic depression. Time and again comments regarding a "dictator" were heard, and dispatches reaching the United States mentioned the name of Pilsudski more frequently, until it became evident that he was being brought forth from his retirement. The Skrzynski Government had given open assurance that they wished his cooperation in the coalition Cabinet.

On April 30, a few days after the Skrzynski resignation and shortly before it was accepted, Marshal Pilsudski made the statement that he considered the crisis to be the result of too great subordination of the executive power to the legislative power. He said he remained convinced that an energetic Government could govern the country strictly within the limits of the Polish constitutional law, and that therefore all thoughts of a dictatorship, with which his name was so often connected, were unwarranted. This statement seemed to be the first public indication of his decision that, should any change be made

under his leadership, it would be confined along constitutional lines so far as was possible.

The following day—May Day—banners in the labor parade were lowered as they passed the Marshal's reviewing stand. Four days later the resignation of the Skrzynski Cabinet was accepted, and after five days the Witos Cabinet was installed, announcing a continuation of the former policies—a Cabinet destined to be in control for only two days.

The first news of Pilsudski's march on Warsaw came as a distinct shock, although certain observers of Polish affairs had freely predicted for a period of several weeks that developments were pointing in that direction. Later reports pieced the story together more completely and showed that following the resignation of the Skrzynski Cabinet on May 5 the Pilsudski hand was keenly felt in all party affairs. Skrzynski himself, conservative as he is, had felt the need of having Pilsudski's support in the coalition Cabinet. The Marshal, however, refused to be affiliated with any parties—advocating non-partisan government, a government of experts. Following the Skrzynski resignation the formation of a new Cabinet would have been much simpler had any of the prospective leaders been able to count on Pilsudski's support.

When the new Cabinet was finally announced on May 10 under the Premiership of Wincenty Witos, Pilsudski offered objections. An interview in which he roundly denounced the Witos Government as being "weak and corrupt" was printed in the *Kurjer Poranny*, and the complete edition was promptly confiscated by the Government. What happened next is not so clear. The Marshal's sympathizers stated that soldiers had been sent to arrest him at his home outside of Warsaw, while parties of the Right asserted that the attack on his residence had been a farce staged by his own soldiers for the purpose of starting action. There were accusations of forged dispatches.

It seemed significant in the events that followed that the Pilsudski leaders consistently insisted on the "constitutionality" of their procedure. Be that as it may, troops friendly to the Marshal who were stationed

in the vicinity were rushed to his assistance, and having routed the "attackers" were led toward Warsaw as a "delegation" and "to protest." At first their leader refused to join them, but he later consented. With Pilsudski on the march the army, largely composed of his followers, swerved in large numbers to his standard, although other troops remained loyal to the Government in power. The Pilsudski troops reached Praga, a suburb across the Vistula from Warsaw, but attempting to cross the Poniatowski Bridge they were challenged by Government troops that had been placed on guard. At this point President Wojciechowski appeared personally and exhorted Pilsudski not to enter the capital. The Marshal in return presented his demands—the immediate and unconditional resignation of Premier Witos and his Cabinet, and the dissolution of Parliament. The President and Pilsudski had been close friends, and the Marshal stated that he had no objection to M. Wojciechowski as President. However, the President refused his demands and retired.

As the Pilsudski troops advanced shots were fired—it is stated that the first firing was done by the Government troops—and at this point the "delegation" became an attacking army. A battle was started which raged through the streets of Warsaw for three days. Pilsudski himself has described this battle as having been "most chivalrous and courteous. * * * Machine gunners were obliged to drive off curious throngs to right or left. Sometimes a whole battle was stopped to let women and children cross the street." Miss Helen Bridge, an American, in charge of the Red Cross Training School for Nurses in Warsaw, stated that she saw no signs of atrocities, although her work took her into the thick of the fighting. Yet at the conclusion the casualties were reported to be in the neighborhood of 600 killed, with perhaps twice as many wounded.

May 15 saw Pilsudski established in the Belvedere, the Polish "White House." The President and Premier had withdrawn to Wilanow, from where they sent for Maciej Rataj, Speaker of the Diet, and presented their resignations, M. Wojciechowski undoubtedly feeling it a moral obligation to retire with the Witos Cabinet. M. Rataj

thus, according to the Constitution, automatically became Acting President. He immediately went into conference with Pilsudski and a Cabinet was formed with Charles Bartel, former Minister of Railways, as Premier. Pilsudski himself was appointed Minister of War. An invitation was extended to former Premier Skrzynski to retain the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, which post was filled temporarily by August Zaleski, former Ambassador to Rome, who had assisted M. Skrzynski at Locarno and Geneva. Hipolit Gliwic, for many years Commercial Counselor at the Polish Legation at Washington and often Acting Chargé d'Affaires, was appointed Minister of Industry and Commerce. The other members of the Cabinet were appointed as follows: Młodzianowski, Minister of the Interior; Czechowicz (late Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Finance), Minister of Finance; Jurkiewicz (late Chief of Department in the Ministry of Labor), Minister of Labor; Raczyński (late Under-Secretary of Agriculture), Minister of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform; Mikolowski-Pomorski, Minister of Education, and Professor Wenceslas Makowski, Minister of Justice.

A convocation of the National Assembly for the purpose of electing a successor to the Presidency following the constitutional dictates was agreed upon. After a "straw vote" Marshal Pilsudski consented to have his name mentioned as a candidate, with the purpose, in the event of his election, of instituting legislation toward giving the President power to dissolve Parliament, and then for a limited period to assume absolute control, with the cooperation of his Cabinet.

Opposition to the new Government—at least opposition sufficiently serious to provoke civil warfare—was apparently dispelled in all sections of the country save in the neighborhood of Posen, a section standing solidly behind the parties of the conservative Right. Early reports stated that General Josef Haller, who raised the Polish army that fought on the western front during the World War, together with General Sikorski, former Minister of War, were raising troops for the purpose of attempting to overthrow the Pilsudski régime. However, it was not to be expected that this movement would assume threatening pro-

portions, at least for the time being. Later reports mentioned rumors and possibilities of the anti-Pilsudski forces concentrating their immediate efforts on the ballot, and the names of General Haller, M. Paderewski and M. Trampczynski were suggested. Yet the general sentiment seemed to be a desire to wait and see with what success the present régime met the pending situation.

THE BARTEL GOVERNMENT

Spokesmen for the new Government under Bartel asserted that no change whatever would be made in the foreign policies of Poland and that the statements regarding Pilsudski's coolness toward France were "ridiculous." They stated that the financial and budgetary reform would be pushed more actively to a conclusion, and announced that the funds of the Bank of Poland were intact, in spite of contrary reports. Subsequent dispatches reported that the Treasury Department had issued Treasury bonds to the extent of 30,000,000 zlotys, which M. Zdzichowski, Minister of Finance in the Skrzynski and Witos Cabinets, described as a veiled form of inflation. Hipolit Gliwic, Minister of Industry and Commerce, stated that commercial relations with the United States would be encouraged. It was also reported that the contract between the Polish Government and the W. A. Harriman interests regarding the sale of holdings of the von Geische heirs had been approved and was only awaiting the formal installation of the new Cabinet before being officially ratified.

Thus Pilsudski was in control of the situation, with his own Cabinet in power and apparently supported by most sections of the country, yet facing the prospects of a Presidential election and with certain factions—even those upon which he had counted for support—growing restive under his noncommittal policy and demanding an outline of his program in case he should be vested with dictatorial powers and Parliament were dissolved for a limited period of time. Observers of Polish affairs were divided as to the outcome of the situation, his critics stating that the "usurper" would not be able to secure the required number of votes, either for his own election or for the dissolution of Par-

liament, while his advocates contradicted this, stating that he would succeed in a constitutional way, yet that should this fail he had sufficient strength to impose his will and carry his point.

As a result of active negotiations carried on between the several parties during the week that preceded the meeting of the National Assembly an arrangement was arrived at which assured Pilsudski's election on the second ballot. When the Assembly met, however, on May 31, the Marshal was elected President upon the first ballot, receiving 292 votes against 193 for Count Binnski, the candidate of the united Opposition, with 60 blank votes and a number of abstentions. Pilsudski thereupon declined the Presidency, in a letter to M. Rataj, on the ground that without a change of the Constitution (which he evidently believed he could not procure from a Parliament that had not voted for him more heavily) he would be only a figurehead President. To some of his friends he mentioned Professors Zdzichowski and Moscicki as good men for the place; though as the Senators and Deputies prepared to ballot again on the following day the feeling of the public was that the Marshal was merely playing for more favorable conditions and would yet be installed in the palace from which M. Wojciechowski had betaken himself into self-imposed exile.

On June 1, however, Professor Moscicki was elected on the second ballot, receiving 281 votes as against 200 for Count Binnski and 1 for M. Marek, who on the first ballot had been given the entire Socialist vote. In informed circles it was believed that the new President would request Premier Bartel to form a new Cabinet which would not differ much in personnel from the interim Government headed by him and that the actual authority would be in the hands of an unofficial triumvirate consisting of President Moscicki, Marshal Pilsudski and M. Bartel. According to a statement by Foreign Minister Zaleski, the Cabinet will immediately endeavor to have Parliament approve two amendments to the Constitution, first, giving the President power to dissolve the Diet and, second, giving the Government power to carry on all business while Parliament is not in session, subject to Parliamentary approval afterward.

The Conquest of the North Pole

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service, Washington, D. C.

TWO great unknowns and unconquerables, the air and the Arctic, have always had a strong appeal to man, who has envied the birds and feared the cold. And now within a brief four days the two types of aircraft—airplane and airship—have dropped flags upon the top of the earth, a location only before conquered by Peary in 1909 after twenty-three trying years of unsuccesses. Add then to the world's list of great exploits:

North Pole, May 9, 1926, 12:50 A. M., Lieut. Commander Richard E. Byrd, U. S. N., and Pilot Floyd G. Bennett in airplane Josephine Ford.

North Pole, May 12, 1926, 1 A. M., Roald Amundsen, Lincoln Ellsworth, Colonel Umberto Nobile and crew in dirigible airship Norge.

And also record the first transpolar passage through the air from Spitzbergen to Alaska, accomplished in seventy-one hours, place on the world's map a great stretch of hitherto unknown polar sea, and write in the annals of journalism that a radio dispatch to The New York Times has been sent from the North Pole. Ever since Andree set forth in an ill-fated balloon it has been a dream of the most daring of explorers that the Arctic would be conquered from the air. Now the reconnoissance of the Arctic has been auspiciously begun, the short transpolar route from Europe to Asia has been blazed and the practicality of aircraft for carrying human cargoes over nearly impassable ice and sea has been proved.

Roald Amundsen, son of Norsemen, has hung up an enviable record of polar achievement that is not likely to be equaled for many years. First at the South Pole, third at the North Pole and first to reach the top of the earth by airship, first to make the famous Northwest passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific by ship, first

to explore the vast unexplored Arctic "blind spot," first to make the Northwest passage via the air route, first to use airplanes in a polar dash. Amundsen and Captain Oscar Whiting, his aid, are the only men who have reached both ends of the earth.

To Byrd belongs the credit for having accomplished one the most daring and successful airplane flights of history. With only one short Summer's baptism of Arctic experience he conquered the North Pole in a brief fifteen hours and fifty-one minutes, less time than it takes to go from New York to Chicago by the fastest train. The round trip to the Pole from Kings Bay, Spitz-

bergen, was accomplished in a large three-engined plane, product of the United States Navy, as was the first man to reach the Pole. Byrd in his spectacular exploit has proved the usefulness of heavier-than-air craft for exploratory purposes.

Preparations made with scientific thoroughness and the latest and best of scientific knowledge and equipment played a prominent part in the success of both expeditions to the North Pole. Amundsen has always planned his explorations with



Wide World Photos

COMMANDER RICHARD E. BYRD



Wide World Photos

LEADERS OF THE NORTH POLE DIRIGIBLE FLIGHT
 From left to right: Colonel Nobile, Captain Roald Amundsen and Lincoln Ellsworth

great thoroughness, because of his realization that it is the little things that count when man is away from civilization and on his own. And he has always been more interested in adding to the geographic and scientific knowledge of the world than in the mere exploit. His journey to the South Pole in 1911 was accomplished with precision and smoothness. His other ventures have always been accompanied with a remarkably small loss of life and a high percentage of accomplishment. When he made his famous Northwest passage in 1903 to 1906 he spent two years in scientific observation and made the magnetic North Pole his principal objective. His observations on his South Pole dash were of the greatest meteorological value. A magnificent piece of scientific work was accomplished by the Maud expedition in 1922 to 1925 under his direction. And now the first news of the great Arctic "blind spot" which the Norge crossed will be of great interest to science.

The great Arctic continent, pictured by the most enthusiastic imaginations as a possible "lost world" with a livable climate and its own civilization, does not exist, according to reports brought back by the Norge. While there may be small islands in the parts of the area not seen from the Norge, it seems quite certain that no large land mass exists. This is probably the most important geographic result of the expedition. Tidal data of the past

have buoyed up the hope of those explorers who saw new territorial conquests possible in the Arctic area. But Amundsen's own expedition on the Maud, which returned only last year from the Arctic Sea, dashed the hopes of Arctic land based upon the evidence of tides. Dr. H. U. Sverdrup, in charge of the scientific work of the expedition, made extensive tidal observations during the six years that the Maud spent in the Arctic and from these observations he determined how the tidal wave reaches the long Siberian coast. He reported:

The wave appears to reach the shelf from the North and seems to come directly across the Polar Sea from the Atlantic side without meeting any obstruction formed by masses of land. The late Professor R. A. Harris of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey compiled and discussed in 1911 all available tidal observations from the Arctic region. He arrived at the conclusion that the tidal wave within the region here dealt with travels practically parallel to the coast, and assumed, therefore, that a great area of land or very shallow water existed within the unknown area north of Alaska and Siberia. His conception of the direction in which the wave proceeds seems, however, to be erroneous, as the tidal phenomena seem to indicate no existence of extensive land masses between Alaska and the Pole.

Thus Amundsen sailing across the Arctic in the Norge confirmed the deductions of his scientific aid. The end of Arctic exploration is not yet. There is still a large unknown area which will spur on and intrigue those who have a love of ad-

venture and a desire to add to the knowledge of the world. Now that aircraft has proved its worth on the top of the earth, no part of the globe will be immune from its invasion. Perhaps in the future, because of the Norge's pilot flight of this year, transpolar dirigibles will upon regular schedule connect Europe and Asia, carrying passengers, mails and express.

FIRST AMERICAN HEALTH CONGRESS

For the first time in the history of America an American Health Congress has been held. Sixteen agencies and associations, each striving in its particular field to improve the health of the public, joined in a week of meetings at Atlantic City. Discoveries of the causes and methods of combating diseases, although the first step in their control, are only partial accomplishment of the protection of civilization against disease. Equally important is the necessity of putting scientific methods of control and treatment into practice, and of even greater potential importance is the education and enlightenment of the public in order that they may be brought to a way of living which will reduce disease and increase longevity. Putting the knowledge of medical science into effect is the business of public health workers and the practicing physician.

Although not the most spectacular development of the American Health Congress, there is great importance in the proposal of Dr. Lee K. Frankel of New York, Chairman of the National Health Congress, who urged that out of cooperation of the many associations promoting national health there should come a national body militant for the bodily and mental well-being of every inhabitant of the country. Just as health and charity organizations have combined to more effectively conduct their work and raise necessary funds, so the national united organization would unify and make more effective and economical a concerted unified attack on all diseases. Reorganize the individual so that he is a health unit instead of a potential sufferer from any particular disease, Dr. Frankel urged, saying that the national association would allow the health worker to visualize the eradication of heart disease, tuberculosis, cancer, venereal dis-

ease, child mortality and insanity not as separate entities, but as maladjustments of the human organism which require unified and concerted effort for their eradication.

THE NORMAL CHILD

The child, father of the man, is naturally a proper place to start in improving the health of the population. Specifications for the normal natural child of America are lacking, and Herbert Hoover, wartime foster father to 15,000,000 European waifs and now President of the American Child Health Association as well as Secretary of Commerce of the United States, pointed out to the Congress the need of specifications and definitions of what is normality in the child. "Parents would like to know what the normal is in children," he said. "If we only knew it would give a new orientation to all child health endeavors and would transform our thinking from deficiencies to positive terms of an ideal." This normal child which Mr. Hoover believes should be defined is neither the perfect nor the average child. Mrs. Jones's Mary and Mrs. Smith's John will be able to achieve this normality, yet the normal child would be superior to the average child of today.

Draft figures which showed that 80 per cent. of America's men were below normal physically, contrasted with the fact that 80 per cent. of all babies born in America are born perfect, has shocked the illusions of those who had believed that our country of fine climate, abundant food, little poverty and great devotion to children could not help but produce a fit population. With all these advantages enjoyed by 10,000,000 American children of pre-school age, yet malnutrition exists in 20 to 25 per cent., posture defects occur in 40 to 50 per cent., and 60 to 70 per cent. have caries. "Our work is racial defense," Mr. Hoover said. "If we want this civilization to march forward toward higher economic standards, to moral and spiritual ideals, it will march only on the feet of healthy children. The breeding ground of the gangster is the overcrowded tenement and subnormal childhood. The antidotes are light and air, food and organized play. The community nurse and the community safeguard to health will succeed far better than a thousand policemen."

Armies and Navies of the World

THE UNITED STATES

THE bill embodying the War Department's aviation building program was unanimously passed by the House of Representatives on May 5 and was favorably reported by the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate in a materially modified form on May 14. The bill as reported to the Senate is entitled "To provide more effectively for the national defense by increasing the efficiency of the Air Corps of the United States and for other purposes." Under its provisions the aviation service is to be named the Air Corps and is to consist of one chief, with the rank of Major General; three assistants, with the rank of Brigadier General; 1,514 officers, in grades from Colonel to Second Lieutenant, and 16,000 enlisted men, including not more than 2,500 flying cadets. The program is to be carried out in five years, beginning July 1, 1927. The Senate committee eliminated the provision of the House bill which authorized the construction of ten airships, holding that this type of equipment is "of little value and should be developed by the Navy."

Studies conducted by the Army General Staff on the basis of data obtained from the joint Army-Navy manoeuvres of last May have led to the conclusion that advanced air bases on the outlying islands are essential to an adequate defense of Hawaii. Major Gen. Patrick, Chief of the Army Air Service, has been accordingly instructed by Secretary of War Davis to take the necessary steps for the establishment of airways in the Hawaiian Department.

The annual defense test, which was inaugurated in 1924, has been abandoned by decision of the War Department.

FRANCE

AN essential feature of the French Army reorganization plan as drafted by the War Department is a separation between the "territorial forces" and the colonial armies. Such a separation is regarded as being in accordance with the dual function

of the army, that of protecting the country from invasion and that of preserving order in the outlying possessions. In a statement to the press War Minister Painlevé admitted that recent events in Morocco and in Syria had given proof of the urgent necessity of that change, which is designed to secure greater independence, suppleness and freedom of movement for the troops assigned to operations outside the mother country.

Under the plan the colonial defense will consist, on the one hand, of the permanent occupation forces, and, on the other, of reinforcement troops consisting of mobile units, which may be stationed either in France or in the colonies. There will be a "colonial army," to consist of 37,000 white soldiers and 90,000 natives; a distinct body of "North African troops," with 40,000 white men and 90,000 natives; and, finally, the Foreign Legion, 20,000 strong. In all, protection of the colonies will be assured by a force of 277,000 men, of whom 97,000 will be whites. The whites in colonial service are to consist solely of professional soldiers and volunteers, except in the special service branches.

The home defense force will include twenty infantry divisions, instead of thirty-two divisions, as at present, and some units will be reduced to mere cadres. The time of service will be reduced from eighteen months to one year, and the age of calling up will be raised from 20 to 21 years. This reform will be brought about gradually and will be fully effective in 1930.

It is proposed to increase the term of service of non-commissioned officers and increase their number from 76,000 to 105,000 for the Army as a whole, including the overseas forces, and to relieve a number of the men of fatigue, maintenance and administrative duties by recruiting a body of 15,000 "military agents" and by engaging an additional 14,000 civilian employees.

While the economy which is to result from the reduction of service to one year is estimated at 255,000,000 francs a year, it will be more than offset by the new ex-

penditures entailed by the increase of the personnel, estimated at a total of 522,000,000 francs. The organization plan will thus involve a net increase of about 200,000,000 francs a year in the cost of the Army.

GREAT BRITAIN

THE actual gross expenditures of the British Navy amounted to £60,775,103 in 1924-25, according to the Navy appropriation account for that year.

ITALY

ITALY'S present total of 1,000 airplanes and seaplanes of various types will be brought up to 1,600 by the end of the year, according to the budget of the Ministry of Aeronautics. Italy will then be the second air power in the world, ranking next after France, with 5,500 machines. The complete program of the Government calls for a total of about 3,200 machines by 1931.

RUSSIA

THE Army and Navy expenditures of the Soviet Union are estimated at 524,500,000 rubles in the budget proposal for the next fiscal year. If allowance is made for the depreciation of the ruble, that amount is equivalent to 398,500,000 pre-war rubles, as compared with 953,400,000 rubles in 1913. Army expenses in the current fiscal year form 16.5 per cent. of the total budget, while they amounted to 29.4 per cent. of the budget of 1913. The following figures showing the Soviet Army strength were given by M. Tchitcherin, Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, in a recent interview:

PERIOD	ARMY STRENGTH	NUMBER OF SOLDIERS TO—	
		1,000 INHABITANTS	1 KILOMETER OF LAND FRONTIER
1921....	1,600,000	11.2	86.8
1922....	800,000	5.6	43.4
1923....	610,000	4.4	34.1
1924....	610,000	4.4	34.1
1925....	562,000	4.0	31.0

[FROM FOREIGN PERIODICALS]

Unhampered Trade Between the European States

By ALEXANDER GOURVITCH

Publicist and Special Investigator

ROBERT KUCZYNSKI, in *Die Neue Rundschau*, Berlin, May, 1926.

THE pre-war economic system, in particular as far as international relations are concerned, was much less rational than it is often pictured by romantic imagination. The idea of an international division of labor had dominated the minds of economists for a century, but it was spurned by the practical business world. The economic policies that actually prevailed were determined by views of traveling salesmen. A return to pre-war conditions would not, therefore, mean an economic disarmament, especially in view of the new political organization of Europe and the new points of friction which have appeared as its result of the impairment of Europe's purchasing power, and, above all, of the loss of many overseas markets due to the industrial progress of the new world. The only solution is an economic union of Europe. Not in the form of combines in individual industries, which are designed primarily for the exploitation of the

consumer, nor in that of customs unions between small nations, which though desirable are insufficient, but in that of an economic federation embracing the States of Europe as a whole. The economic power of the United States is actually based upon the union of forty-eight States, with a combined territory almost as large as that covered by the thirty-three independent States of Europe. The objection commonly made against an economic federation of States is that it would threaten to impair their political independence as well. But this must not necessarily be the result, as has been demonstrated by the experience of the German Zollverein and of the Latin monetary union. Furthermore, the writer does not believe that this would be an unmitigated evil, and he thinks that the advantages might well offset the disadvantages. Whatever a State may lose of its sovereignty in relation to other States it will gain in sovereignty over national economy. The building up of an economic federation will probably result in the elimination of the siver-

eighty of private economy over the State, which has been responsible for such developments as the collapse of the mark and the fall of the franc.

Difficulties in the way of a European federation are of a psychological rather than of an economic nature. Every consolidation, whether administrative or commercial, has always been thought a utopia till the very moment when it was actually accomplished. The situation of the greater part of the European States at the present time is the same as was that of the municipalities which now form Greater Berlin—before their consolidation seven years ago. The alternatives are "economic independence with economic impotence or economic union and economic salvation."

The French Debt Settlement

RAYMOND RECOULY, in *La Revue de France*, Paris, May 15, 1926.

THE Washington agreement on the French war debt to the United States marks, in principle at least, the end of the arrangements relating to the payment of reparations. It leaves the future uncertain, however, as a financial program extending over three-quarters of a century is "contrary to nature, to reason, to common sense." Once it is realized in France that all German payments on the reparations account go to London and to New York, France will have no interest in insisting upon collecting them. Germany will not fail to take advantage of the situation, and thus there will eventually develop a possibility of a general cancellation of claims.

The writer regards as an error the tendency prevalent among Frenchmen to attach "a sort of mystic interest" to the debt settlement as a source of financial salvation. France's financial recovery will have to come from within, not from without. The debt settlement will enable some French industries to obtain loans in America, but these possibilities are limited. After the settlement, as before it, France will have to help herself, and the first prerequisite will be a complete reorganization of the French system of parliamentary government with a view to securing a strong executive power.

The Settlement of Italy's Debts and After

FRANCESCO COPPOLA, in *Politica*, Rome, No. LXXI

THE debt agreement between Italy and the United States was described in the European press, especially the English and the French, as an "astounding success," and the French, in particular ("as though to comfort themselves over Caillaux's failure"), were inclined to explain it by the weight of the Italian vote in America. The settlement of Italy's debt to Great Britain has now caused a similar astonishment and has



Dove of Peace: "This seems to be the only place for my nest!"

—Mucha, Warsaw

given rise to new attempts at a political explanation; it is intimated that Great Britain's leniency has been dictated by her need of the support of a friendly power in the Mediterranean against the menace of a Russo-Turkish combination. In fact, the debt settlements may be regarded as a success in a very relative sense only, namely, to the extent that an exceedingly unfavorable situation had been created through the faults of others, namely, Great Britain's betrayal of European solidarity for the sake of America's friendship and France's failure to stress the moral issue involved, because of her being obsessed by the hope of an Anglo-Saxon guaranty of her security. In reality, however, inasmuch as the "so-called war debts were never owed either politically or morally," the settlements cannot be spoken of as a success. They have just been a "fair compromise."

As regards the alleged political considerations that have made that relative success possible, the writer recalls that the millions of Italians were in the United States in 1919 as well, which did not prevent President Wilson, while acting as the supreme arbiter and "distributing the fruits and the honors of the victory won with European blood," not only from despoiling Italy, but from publicly insulting her in addition. Nor did Italy's Mediterranean position prevent Lloyd George in 1919 from refusing Italy Colonial mandates and access to sources of raw materials, from giving

preference to Greece over Italy in Anatolia, or from endeavoring to bar Italy from the Dodecanese. Why the change since? Because at that time Italy was in the power of the "pacifist parliamentary democracy." "Then the Italians in America had no Italian will; they had no Italian consciousness, because social-democratic Italy had marred the consciousness of Italy's history and of her victory; * * * they were not in unison with itself; they were a mob without valor, a servile mob, because Italy had made a servile soul to herself." For the same reason Lloyd George, with Wilson and Clemenceau, could then defraud Italy, especially in the Mediterranean, "which is by geographic and historical right her sea above all. * * * Now the Italians count in America, and Italy counts in the Mediterranean and in the world," as a result of the "reaction of the national spirit which has triumphed in the Fascist Revolution and has been consolidated in the Fascist regime," and, in particular, of her resolute efforts to reconstruct her armed force.

This new situation, however, should not be a cause of self-complacency, but should afford an opportunity for "the necessary Italian conclusions" to be drawn, of which the principal two are these: First, to arm and to be strong is good business. From the economic point of view too, Italy should continue to arm and she should proceed to improve her navy just as she has begun to improve her army and her aviation service. She should firmly resist the "insidious Geneva disarmament suggestions. * * * The 'unproductive expenses' are, have been, and will be forever the productive expenses *par excellence*. * * * The second conclusion has become so obvious by now that even foreigners indicate it to us, spontaneously and unanimously; it refers directly to what we have always pointed out as the greatest, the capital historical problem for Italy, and that is the Mediterranean and the East."

Italy's Mediterranean Ambitions

"A WITNESS," in *La Revue Mondiale*, Paris, May 1, 1926.

THE writer expresses "the concern and the sorrow" of France over the anti-French trend of Italy's policies. When Mussolini gave forth,



NEEDLESS STRIFE

Mussolini (to Greece and Spain): "Woe to you if you touch my property (the Mediterranean)."
John Bull: "Ha! Ha! His property!"

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

before the *coup d'état*, the rallying cry, "The Mediterranean for the Mediterranean peoples," that was regarded as a statement unpleasant to Great Britain, but was not in any way interpreted as implying a menace to France. Since 1922, however, there has been a change in the interpretation, and the same formula has come to mean an anti-French policy based upon British friendship. The Italian naval manoeuvres of last Summer were conducted on the hypothesis of a war with France, with either Toulon or Bizerta as the enemy base, of enemy occupation of Sardinia and an attempt to effect a landing in Sicily. The writer mentions, among other alarming developments, the negotiations for a naval agreement which were begun between Italy and Spain two years ago, and which may not have failed actually as completely as it has been pretended, the talk of an Italo-Russian alliance, the repeated declarations in the Fascist press and those of responsible public officials with regard to "African imperialism" or the impending Colonial wars. Finally France is actually confronted with Italy's hostility in all her important endeavors outside Europe, whether in Morocco, where Italy contends that the agreements between France, Spain and Great Britain are in violation of the Act of Algeciras, or in Tunis, where the more moderate Italian program demands for the Italian settlers and their descendants the indefinite preservation of their Italian allegiance and a national organization of their own, while the more intransigent groups insist upon annexation, or in Central Africa, where the occupation of the oases of Djarboob by Italian troops last February has marked the beginning of Italian penetration, or in Syria and in Turkey.

CURRENT HISTORY—PART II.

The Historians' Chronicle of the World

By the Board of Current History Associates

PERIOD ENDED JUNE 7, 1926

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The Outstanding Events of the Month

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University; Chairman of the Board of
Current History Associates

THE most interesting event of the past month as far as Americans are concerned has not been any single occurrence or demonstration, but the appearance in various forms of strong opposition to some assertions of authority by the Federal Government. This question is as old as the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions and the Nullification controversy and the Secessions of 1861, and is inherent in the system of Federal Government; for it concerns the delicate and changeable adjustment between central and local authorities.

Just now this division between what Dean Swift would have called the Bigendians and the Littleendians takes the form of an assault on the performance by the National Government of various functions especially related to individual rights and restrictions on individuals, notably the execution of the Volstead act. One party to the controversy champions personal rights as against the Juggernaut of national prohibition. They declare that the restrictions of the act are in derogation of the whole spirit of American government; that it is no function of the Government to regulate the food and drink of the people or to decide for them what is healthful and what is harmful to the human system. This argument has equal strength against pure food and drug acts. It is also an indictment of most of the prohibition regulative acts which were in force in thirty-three States when the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted. A repeal of the Volstead act on these grounds would logically carry with it the negation of all or most of the outstanding State legislation on that subject.

Doubtless the argument is not intended to extend so far, but it does include the assertion that the Federal Government legislates too much on many subjects. It is difficult to correct this evil, if it be an evil, inasmuch as it would be impossible to carry on government at all without providing as one nation for general defense, for

control of interstate trade and foreign treaties, for coinage, the postoffice, taxes and loans for Federal purposes, bankruptcy and the control of corporations engaged in interstate business.

Another form of protest, even in Congress, concerns the exercise of power heretofore thought necessary for the carrying on of the legislative and executive business of the United States. Some Senators insist that a rule which prevents a Senator from talking indefinitely on a question before the House is a denial of good government. A case is now before the Supreme Court involving the right of the Senate committee to secure testimony on questions relative to the efficient carrying out of the laws of the United States. Like complaint has been lodged against the President of the United States for an order under which certain local officials can be designated also as United States officials. This is a practice against which no law of the United States can be adduced, and a practice regularly followed in the States by requiring municipal and local officials to act in behalf of the State. There is no divine or constitutional exclusion of State officials from minor office.

Perhaps all these difficulties are connected with the common American practice of looking upon the Government as existing for the sake of the governing element and not for the governed. As a people, we are rather more interested in the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, in the validity of the rules of Congress and the technique of the tax gatherer than in efficient government for the benefit of the people. Federal, State and local Governments alike are instituted for the benefit of the people and should be administered so as to make that benefit as simple and as wide as possible. The greatest need of the American Government at present is in all fields, national, State and local, to keep in mind the thing that should be done rather than local and technical obstacles in the way of efficiency.

Preliminary Disarmament Conference

Results of First Meeting at Geneva—The Question of League Council Membership—International Labor Conference—Woman Suffrage Congress in Paris

By PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN

Professor of International Law, Princeton University

EUROPEAN political conditions have not undergone any marked change of late. The revolution in Poland, the general strike in Great Britain, the Parliamentary deadlock in France, and other domestic difficulties seemed to absorb the attention of statesmen and of the general public to the practical exclusion of international matters. The foreign policy of Italy as adumbrated by Mussolini in a speech in the Senate on May 28 continued to give cause for apprehension. It was believed that Italy would demand a share in any new mandates which might be given by the League of Nations. The Turkish Government was apparently much concerned over Italian activities at Rhodes and suspected some kind of understanding between Rome and Athens hostile to Turkey. This impelled Turkey, it was believed, to seek an arrangement with Great Britain over the Mosul question. France was suspicious, apparently, of Italian naval projects in the Mediterranean, which it was inclined to interpret as meaning an intention of Italy to demand a further share in the division of territory in North Africa. In some French quarters it was alleged that the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament placed France in an embarrassing situation by reason of the naval agreement which prevented her from maintaining a naval superiority over Italy. Spain and Italy were believed to desire a conference of

powers to change the status of Tangiers in a manner which would be unacceptable to both France and England. An interesting and important agreement between France and Germany concerning modifications of the Treaty of Versailles as it applies to German aviation was signed at Paris on May 7 and sanctioned by the Council of Ambassadors.

PRELIMINARY DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Nineteen nations were represented at the Preliminary Conference on Disarmament, which met in Geneva from May 18 to May 26. The principal decisions reached were as follows:

First, to refer to subcommittees of experts the diverse problems raised by the



INTERNATIONAL POKER PARTY

Mussolini: "I'll raise you again!"

Ismet Pasha: "Nice game. Very amusing. One cheats, the other bluffs. The best thing is to sit tight and let them get on with it."

—Pst, Constantinople

original agenda of six comprehensive questions submitted by the special committee of the League of Nations. Among these was included the proposition favored by the United States for regional agreements on disarmament, and also the whole problem of naval disarmament which some nations would have preferred to eliminate from the discussion.

Second, to refer to a subcommittee problems of a non-military and non-political nature.

Third, to refer to the Council of the League of Nations the important question of defining the duties and accelerating the action of the Council in cases of aggression or threats of war. This last proposal, which was urged by the French delegation and which was not opposed by the American delegation, was of considerable significance. It recounted the last paragraph of the Covenant of the League of Nations dealing with the subject of reduction of armament whereby the members of the League "undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armament, their military, naval and air programs, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes." The commission then made the following suggestions to the Council of the League:

First, to order a study of methods and regulations necessary to facilitate the assembling of the Council quickly in cases of war or threats of war; to accelerate the elaboration of decisions which the Council shall take to put into execution the obligations of the Covenant.

Second, to charge the permanent consultative commission to define the means necessary to satisfy Article VIII * * * to study the procedure permitting a quick elaboration of the recommendation of military aid provided for by the second paragraph of Article XVI of the Covenant when the Council shall have decided to make such recommendations; to study the measures which it will be possible to take in case of a conflict brought before the Council, and after decision taken by the latter, to prevent the development of hostilities or their preparation, as in the case of the Greco-Bulgar conflict.

Third, to charge the Mixed Commission to study the means of perfecting the telegraphic and telephonic transmissions of various countries with the Secretary General of the League of Nations; to study the regulations which will permit the Council, when it has taken a decision, to bring rapidly to the attacked State the economic and financial aid which shall be considered necessary; to fix the composition and rules of the committee's resources and distribution (repartition) that the League of Nations could utilize to this effect.

FRANCO-BRITISH DIFFERENCES

The purport of this proposal was obviously to raise anew the whole question of security which France in particular has never ceased to insist to be indissolubly connected with the problem of disarmament, and brought back into the foreground the Geneva Protocol of 1924, which aimed to supplement more effectively the provisions of the Covenant regarding security. Another French proposal that League experts might give their views on the question as to whether disarmament estimates could be prepared by a comparison of military budgets was also agreed to

without opposition on the part of the American delegation.

Considerable differences of opinion arose in the Commission, particularly between the French and British delegations, concerning the scope of the discussions of the Disarmament Conference. One of the more important controversies related to the nature of armament which might be employed purely for defensive purposes. All such



"PULL, DEVIL, PULL, BAKER!"

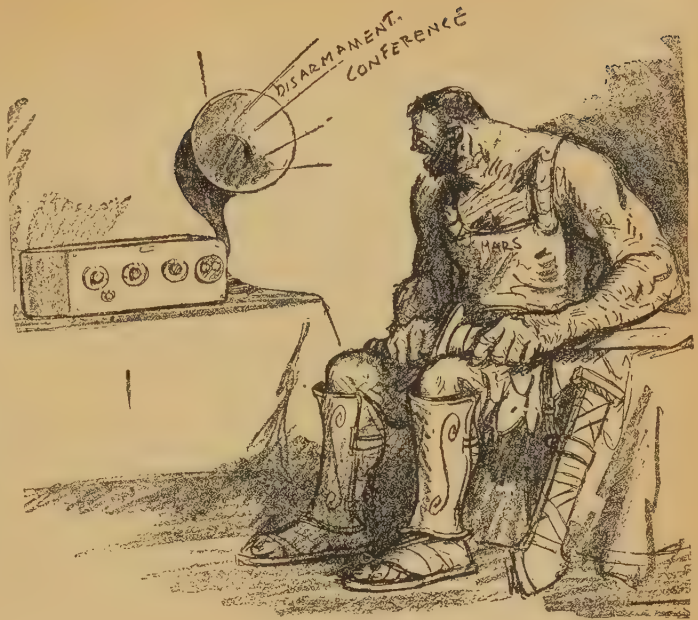
—Yorkshire Evening News

matters were left in principle to the study of the appropriate subcommittees, which were to continue their labors in Geneva for an indefinite time until ready to report to the next formal meeting of the Preliminary Conference. It was felt that various proposals were being brought forward for the purpose of so complicating the work of these committees as to delay indefinitely the meeting of the formal conference on disarmament in order to allow the various European Powers to build up a more satisfactory system of guarantees for security, such as were contained in the Locarno agreements.

The policy of the United States Government, as indicated by the statements of its delegation at Geneva, was to facilitate and promote in every possible way the general problem of world disarmament without becoming too intimately involved in the discussion of questions deemed primarily of a European character, or appearing in any way to place factitious obstacles in the way of the great work of the Conference. President Coolidge, in his Memorial Day address took occasion to admonish in a solemn way the European Powers that the world had the right to expect great achievements from the Conference. Mr. Gibson, the American Minister to Switzerland and head of the American delegation to the Conference, was evidently able in a tactful effective manner to avoid dangerous diplomatic situations and to exercise a helpful constructive influence in its deliberations.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

It was announced on May 17 that the Committee on the Composition of the League Council, appointed after the failure to admit Germany at the March session of the League, had ac-



"WHO? ME?"
—Rollin Kirby, in *The New York World*

cepted the proposals presented by Lord Robert Cecil. The statements made by the delegates of Spain on the committee would indicate that if those proposals should be accepted by the Council that country might withdraw from the League.

It appeared that the attitude of Brazil had not undergone any serious change, and that, if deprived of its non-permanent seat on the Council, it might also resign from the League. The proposition to permit nations to take seats on the Council immediately upon election would have the effect of preventing Brazil from again vetoing the entrance of Germany into the League. There seemed to be no desire to change the rule requiring unanimity in the voting of the Council. The whole question of the composition of the Council remained still a most thorny one, though diplomatic manoeuvring might find a satisfactory solution before the September session of the League.

The International Passport Conference in Geneva adopted, on May 13, the recommendation that Governments issue passports valid in all countries, or for groups which included as many countries as pos-

sible. The conference also registered the view that the fees charged for the issuance of passports should be fixed in such a manner as to bring to the States a revenue not exceeding the expenditure involved in the preparation of the documents.

Announcement was made at Geneva on May 8 that plans were being evolved for the creation of an International Relief Union which should be ready to afford immediate aid in case of sudden disasters, such as by fire, earthquake and flood. A special fund would be created by the League of Nations and by the help of specific donations from Governments and such organizations as the National Red Cross, to be available without delay. An Advisory Committee would be created to study the whole subject of effective aid in time of disaster and to devise better methods of bringing relief. The International Red Cross would continue to function as a separate organization, though serving as the central headquarters for the International Relief Union and providing most of the overhead expenses.

MOSUL AGREEMENT

The Mosul agreement, which was signed on June 5 by Sir Ronald Lindsay, the British Ambassador; Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Turkish Foreign Minister, and Nouri Pasha, was reported to contain three chapters and eighteen articles, the main points of the compact being summarized as follows:

First, in view of the special bonds between Britain and Iraq under the treaty of 1925, the Brussels line is accepted as the frontier.

Second, the frontier will be treated by the two parties as inviolable, and will not be subject to modification.

Third, the frontier line will finally be settled by a special commission within three months of the signing of the treaty.

Fourth, on the occasion of signature, a general amnesty will be proclaimed in Iraq.

Fifth, persons inhabiting the districts recognized as Iraq may choose Turkish nationality within a determined period ac-



"What? We do nothing for the Syrians? Why, we have only just cleaned up Damascus!"
—*Humanité, Paris*

cording to the Treaty of Lausanne. Turkey cannot accept undesirables.

Sixth, in order to preserve peace on the frontier, there will be a neutral zone within which the formation of bands shall be forbidden.

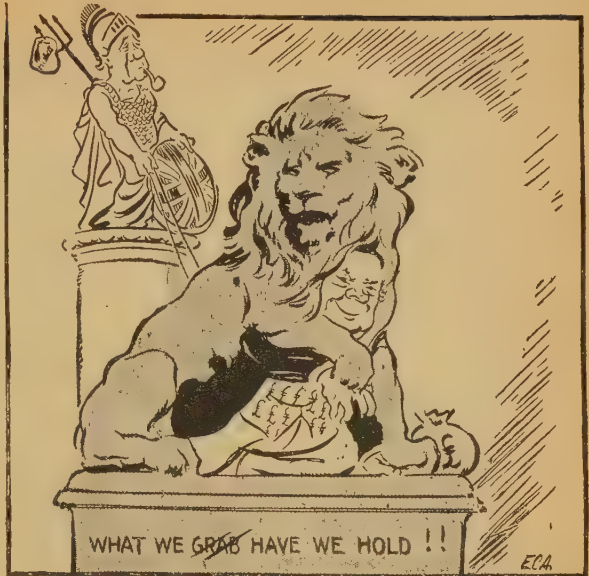
Seventh, Turkey will receive 10 per cent. of the revenue accruing to Iraq from all petrol fields during a period of twenty-five years. Turkey has the right to capitalize the value of her share.

The mission sent by the League of Nations to study the problem of replacing opium cultivation in Persia by other kinds of production had the great misfortune to lose all its accounts and documents in the burning of the building in which it was quartered. It was thought in some quarters that this may have been due to the ill-will of the exporters of opium.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

The eighth session of the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations which convened at Geneva on May 25, was confronted with the task of acting on the agreement reached by the Labor Ministries of Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Italy to facilitate the early ratification of the Eight-Hour-Day Convention, which was adopted by the International Labor Conference at its session in Washington in 1919. Among the definitions agreed to at the recent conference of Labor Ministers in London was one exempting the employes in the regular postal, telegraph and telephone services.

A leading bone of contention hindering the ratification of the Eight-Hour-Day Convention by Great Britain and Germany was the interpretation of the meaning of Article 14, which reads: "The provisions of this convention may be set aside in any country by the Government in case of a war or other events endangering the security of the nation." During the discussions within and without the Parliaments of Germany and Great Britain, as well as of some other European countries, on ratification, it was asserted that the necessity of Germany rais-



IS THIS THE "SECRET" OF THE IRAQ TREATY?
—Daily Herald, London

ing the money needed to pay reparations under the Dawes plan might well be put into the class of emergencies endangering the security of the nations. It was argued that this would take the railroads out of the eight-hour class. In England some of the coal mine owners, moreover, asserted that the very life of the Empire depended upon the prosperity of their industry. The agreement reached in London read:

It is agreed that each Government will insert Article 14 in its legislation to carry out the convention.

It is agreed (provisionally on the part of Great Britain) that use can only be made of Article 14 in case of a crisis which affects the national economy to such an extent that it threatens the existence of the life of the people. An economic or commercial crisis, however, which concerns only special branches of industry cannot be regarded as endangering the national safety within the meaning of Article 14, so that in this case the suspension of the convention would not be justified.

The only countries that have formally ratified the Eight-Hour-Day Convention are Bulgaria, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Greece, India and Rumania. Italy, Austria, and Latvia have ratified it conditionally. Germany, France, Spain, Argentina, Belgium,



TAKE DICTATION, MISS!
—Manchester (N. H.) Union

Brazil, Denmark, Lithuania, Holland and Uruguay have recommended ratification to their Parliaments. In Sweden and Yugoslavia legislation for an eight-hour day has been enacted independently of the convention.

HEALTH CONGRESS

Delegates from sixty-five nations assembled in Paris on May 10 to attend the most important international health conference held since the war. Its main task was to revise and bring up to date the convention signed in 1912. Hugh S. Cumming, Surgeon General in the United States Public Health Service, gave formal notice at the session of the Conference on May 17 that the United States Government would not be a party to any revised international health convention which provided for the substitution of any agencies of the League of Nations in place of the International Health Bureau of Paris. He advocated

the support and development of the work of this bureau into a world-wide centre for the concentration of health conditions throughout the world.

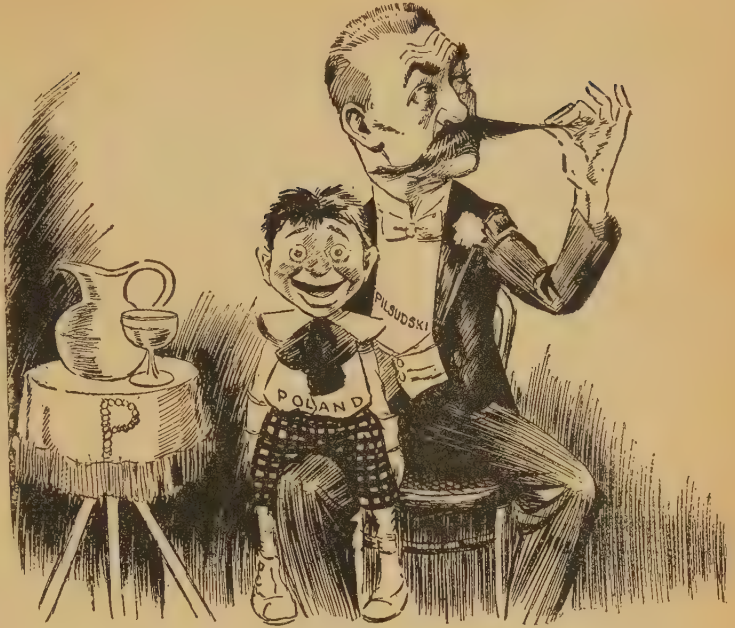
The Tenth World Suffrage Congress assembled in Paris on May 30. Much feeling was aroused by the success of the National League of Women Voters of the United States in excluding the National Woman's Party of the United States from membership in the International Women's Suffrage Alliance. This was explained by Miss Belle Sherwin, President of the League of Women Voters, as due to a difference in methods of the two American organizations rather than to a difference of policy. It was asserted that the admission of the Woman's Party would seriously affect the harmony and working power of the alliance. A motion to declare against protective legislation for women in industry was defeated by the Congress. Another motion favoring the equal moral standard, stripped of the provisions for compulsory medical treatment of certain diseases, which caused opposition to similar proposals at Rome in the Congress of 1920, was adopted.

Negotiations of the utmost significance between representatives of steelmakers of France, Germany, Belgium, Luxemburg and the Saar Basin to effect an international control of the production and exportation of steel products were suspended, according to a dispatch from Paris on



THE NEW ALEXANDER
"If I were not Mussolini, I would be Victor Emanuel."
—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

May 26, though an early resumption was expected. It was believed that the obstacle which caused the postponement was the length of time the proposed agreement would be in force—the Germans insisting that it would be futile to organize a trust unless production quotas were established for a fairly large number of years and the French insisting upon a trial scheme for the first year or two on quotas which could be modified from time to time as the internal conditions of each country changed.



Ventriloquist: "Now, young man, speak your own mind."

—The New York Times

An important meeting was held on May 29 and 30 in Luxemburg, which was attended by many of the chief industrialists of France and Germany. The result of the conference was the establishment of a French committee in Berlin and of a German committee in Paris for supplying authentic business information to the industrialists of each country. At the same time plans were laid for a program "to eliminate, so far as possible, the unjustified causes of mutual distrust, which up to the present have prevented the two countries from approaching under favorable conditions the consideration of their real interests." Further meetings are to be held from time to time.

Great significance was attached to the arrival in London on May 27 of Herr Schacht, President of the German Reichsbank, in order to confer with Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England. The principal object of this visit was understood to be the desire of Germany to secure a revision of the Dawes plan by arrangements based on the marketing of sixteen billions gold marks' worth of railway and industrial bonds, already marked as security for German payments on repara-

tions. The German case for revision was based on a belief that it would be practically impossible to make the full payments which begin with the fourth year of application of the Dawes plan. Already it was said that the Transfer Committee set up under the plan was meeting with difficulties in connection with the exchanges.

The German Government desired, it was stated, to see the Dawes plan, with its duration of more than a generation, give way to a new arrangement, which, by giving immediate satisfaction to the Allies would release Germany from the control of the Agent General for Reparations and put a speedy end to the occupation of the Rhineland by the allied forces.

The presence in London of Parker Gilbert, Agent General of Reparation Payments, and of Benjamin Strong, Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, at the same time as this visit by Herr Schacht was considered of special significance. It is understood that the attitude of France was not entirely unfavorable to the revision of the Dawes plan along the lines indicated.

The Fight for Prohibition Enforcement

Storm Raised by President's New Move—Senator Borah's Attack on New York Referendum—Farm Relief Bill Defeated in the House—Republican Senators Defeated at Primaries

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

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PUBLIC interest in national politics during the month has centred mainly in the debates of Congress over farm relief legislation, the increasing agitation for a more rigorous enforcement of prohibition on the one hand and for a modification of the system on the other, and the primary elections and party campaigns for the choice of members of the Senate and House of Representatives. Although the members of the new Congress will not take their seats until March, 1927, and then only if Congress should be convened in early session, the possibility of a substantial reduction of the present Republican majority in the Senate and of a corresponding change in the party alignment in the House has naturally affected the attitude of party leaders toward pending legislation. An early adjournment of Congress, which it was hoped might be reached by the middle of May, was found impossible, largely because of the crowded condition of the Senate calendar.

The Haugen bill, the principal feature of which was the appropriation from the Federal Treasury of \$175,000,000 to be used in stabilizing the prices of certain basic agricultural commodities through a scheme of marketing under Federal supervision, was defeated in the House on May 21, after prolonged and heated debate, by a vote of 212 to 167. Party lines were split, 98 Republicans and 66 Democrats voting for the bill and 121 Republicans and 89 Democrats voting against it. The bill was introduced in the House on May 25, in a modified form by Representative Anthony of Kansas, Republican, but Administration leaders in the House were quoted as believing that neither the Haugen bill nor any other farm relief measure would receive the approval of the present

Congress. An informal canvass of the Senate, on the other hand, where sentiment in favor of farm relief legislation appeared to be more radical than in the House, was reported to show substantial support for the McNary-Haugen bill, a measure similar to the Haugen bill. It was intimated that an effort would be made to pass the McNary-Haugen bill as an amendment to the Administration bill creating a bureau of cooperative marketing in the Department of Agriculture, and that political pressure due to the approaching elections might in that case change the attitude of the House.

The other legislative accomplishments of Congress, although not unimportant, were relatively small. The bill appropriating \$165,000,000 for the construction of public buildings in the States and the District of Columbia was signed by President Coolidge on May 25. The first building to be erected at Washington, it was reported on May 29, will be an Archives Building, intended to house Government records and historical documents, many of which are now scattered and exposed to fire hazard. The Watson-Parker Railroad Labor bill, abolishing the present Railway Labor Board and substituting adjustment boards to deal with collective bargaining in matters of wages and labor conditions, and creating a Board of Mediation to act in disputes between the railways and their employes, was approved on May 20. In signing the latter bill President Coolidge stated that he "should have preferred some more definite declaration for the possible protection of the public," but that since "it is not now possible to foretell" the changes, if any, that might be needed "and which can easily be supplied by a future Congress," and since "the roads and their employes are committed to the necessity of

making this law a success," he had "come to the conclusion that the plan in this act should be tried." Following the approval of the bill, it was announced that the conferences between the railroad companies and the conductors and trainmen regarding the demand for a 20 per cent. increase in wages, which had been suspended for some weeks, would shortly be resumed.

An amended House bill, embodying the recommendations of the Morrow Board for the reorganization and extension of the military aviation service, was favorably reported in the Senate on May 15. The bill carried no appropriation, the determination of the amount to be expended awaiting the decision of President Coolidge and the Budget Bureau. The McFadden Branch Banking bill, which had already passed the House, was passed by the Senate in an amended form on May 13. The bill, which was under consideration for several months and in regard to which much difference of opinion had developed among bankers as well as in Congress, authorizes the establishment of branches of national banks in cities where State laws permit branch banking, amends the Federal Reserve act by forbidding State banks in the Federal Reserve System to establish branches outside city limits, and extends indefinitely the charters of the twelve Federal Reserve banks, originally chartered for twenty-one years and having still a number of years to run. The bill was referred to a conference committee on May 25, but the opposition in the House to the Senate amendments was reported to be so strong as to make the passage of the bill unlikely.

THE POLITICS OF ALCOHOL

Discussion of prohibition legislation in the Senate centred chiefly in a bill, introduced by Senator Goff of West Virginia at the instance of the Treasury Department, intended to "put teeth into" the Federal enforcement laws. As originally drafted the Goff bill provided, among other things, for drastic powers in the revocation of permits for the withdrawal of liquors from bonded warehouses, severe penalties for removing denaturants from denatured alcohol or rum, and the issuance of warrants to "search any private dwelling," as such dwelling is defined in

the Volstead act, "if any still or any distilling apparatus is used or set up for use therein for the unlawful manufacture of intoxicating liquor." The latter provision in particular encountered strong objection on the ground that it appeared to authorize the search of private dwellings on mere suspicion, and would interfere with home distilling or brewing for private use.

The Judiciary Committee of the Senate, which reported the bill in an amended form on May 17, proposed to limit the right of search to those cases only in which there was evidence of "sale, barter, or exchange." "It is not intended," the report declared, "that the homes of private citizens should be invaded." The effect of the amendment was to put the manufacture of distilled liquors for private use on the same footing as the manufacture of light wines and beer, which is now allowed. Lincoln C. Andrews, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of prohibition enforcement, against whose



Look out, boys! It's sometimes dangerous to jump at conclusions.

—New York Herald Tribune

policy the change was believed to be specially directed, had already let it be known that "invasion of the home" was no part of his purpose, and that the attention of the enforcement officers was to be concentrated upon bootleggers engaged in large or regular commercial operations.

The question of prohibition took another and unexpected turn on May 21 when it became known that President Coolidge, on May 8, had issued an executive order authorizing the employment of State or local officers as prohibition enforcement agents. The order, in form a modification of an executive order issued on Jan. 17, 1873, by President Grant, stated that in order that they may more efficiently function in the enforcement of the National Prohibition act (Volstead act), any State, county or municipal officers may be appointed, at a nominal rate of compensation, as prohibition officers of the Treasury Department to enforce the provisions of the National Prohibition act and acts supplemental thereto in States and Territories, except in those States having constitutional or statutory provision against State officers holding office under the Federal Government.

The order of 1873, to which the foregoing order was described as an "addition," forbade any Federal officer, "other than judicial officers under the Constitution of the United States," to hold any State office except those of justice of the peace, notary public, or commissioners of deeds, of bail, or to administer oaths. Exception was further made of sheriffs or deputy sheriffs, who might be appointed deputy United States marshals, and deputy postmasters whose income from their offices did not exceed \$600 per annum, where the holding of State or municipal office did not interfere with the performance of their Federal duties. The reason for the order was stated to be the belief that with but few exceptions, the holding of two such offices by the same person is incompatible with a due and faithful discharge of the duties of either office; that it frequently gives rise to great inconvenience, and often results in detriment to the public service; and, moreover, is not in harmony with the genius of the Government.

The storm of adverse criticism in Congress and the country which followed the publication of the order of May 8 was intensified by the fact that on May 15, a

week after the order was signed but six days before it was made public, President Coolidge, in a speech at Williamsburg, Va., had mingled a vigorous denunciation of bureaucracy with a clear hint that State rights had their limitations:

No plan of centralization has ever been adopted which did not result in bureaucracy, tyranny, inflexibility, reaction and decline. * * * Unless bureaucracy is constantly resisted it breaks down representative government and overwhelms democracy. * * * On the other hand, when the great body of public opinion of the nation requires action, the States ought to understand that unless they are responsive to such sentiment the national authority will be compelled to intervene. The doctrine of State rights is not a privilege to continue in wrong-doing, but a privilege to be free from interference in well-doing.

The order failed to elicit support from the regular Republicans in the Senate, although Senator Borah of Idaho stated that he saw no constitutional objection to it, and regarded the question as one of policy. A defense of the order on legal and constitutional grounds was, however, offered by Senator Walsh of Montana, a Democrat. Attorney General Sargent, who did not appear to have been consulted previously, issued a statement on May 24 upholding the order on the ground that "there does not appear to be any Federal law, constitutional or statutory, incapacitating a citizen from holding a Federal and State office at the same time," and that concurrent action of the nation and States was contemplated by the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act. A resolution directing the Judiciary Committee to investigate the legality of the order was adopted by the Senate on May 25 without a roll call or a dissenting vote. It had already been announced that the order, which appeared to have originated with the prohibition authorities, was primarily intended for use in "cleaning up" California, and that President Coolidge was ready to consider modifying it if it were objectionable. However, on June 5, the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee decided by a vote of 4 to 1 that the President had full legal authority to issue the order.

In a speech at Baltimore on May 30, under the auspices of the Presbyterian General Assembly, Senator Borah made a

bitter attack upon the State of New York for planning a State referendum on prohibition, and declared that the only question before the American people was "whether we will enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, repeal it or nullify it." The speech followed an endorsement on May 29, by the Northern Baptist Convention at Washington, of the Anti-Saloon League "as the interdenominational agency for fighting the liquor traffic," and a call to Pennsylvania Republicans by the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church to support former Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, a "dry," who is the Democratic nominee for United States Senator against Representative Vare.

On the same day on which Senator Borah spoke, Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts, Republican, introduced a resolution in the House for an investigation of payments of money by the Anti-Saloon League to members of Congress. Representative L. C. Cramton of Michigan was specifically named as the recipient of such payments. It appeared to be the general opinion, however, that none of the prohibition bills or resolutions before Congress was likely to be passed, and that the proposal for a national referendum sponsored by Senator Edge of New Jersey would also fail.

FOUR REPUBLICAN SENATORS DEFEATED AT PRIMARY ELECTIONS

The overwhelming defeat of Senator Pepper of Pennsylvania on May 18, of Senator Stanfield of Oregon on May 21, and of Senator Cummins of Iowa on June 7 for renomination at the Republican primaries in those States, occasioned much anxiety among Republican leaders regarding the attitude of the country toward the Administration and its policies. Although there was no clear evidence that the personal popularity of President Coolidge had waned, or that approval of his economy program was less general than it appeared to be two or three months before, the defeat of four stalwart Republican Senators in rapid succession, beginning with that of Senator McKinley of Illinois on April 13, and the appearance of vigorous opposi-



The potatoes get smaller and smaller.
—New York Herald Tribune

tion to Republican candidates in other States naturally caused concern.

The Senatorial contest in Pennsylvania was particularly interesting from a national point of view, partly because of the equivocal form which the issue of prohibition took in the campaign and partly because of the active support given by the Administration to Senator Pepper. At a mass meeting at Pittsburgh on May 11 the candidacy of Senator Pepper was supported by Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, Secretary of Labor Davis and Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, the former urging the renomination of Senator Pepper on the ground that his return was necessary "to aid the Republican Administration in carrying out to a successful end the program it had laid down," while the latter denounced the injection into the campaign of the prohibition issue as "rank heresy." The result of the polling on May 18 showed a majority of about 100,000 for Representative William S. Vare, the Republican "wet" candidate. By what seemed, from the point of view of the prohibition issue, a curious contradiction, Edward E. Beidleman, the Republican candidate for Governor on the Vare ticket, was

defeated by John S. Fisher, a "dry" who had the support of the Mellon interests, which for some time have dominated the regular Republican organization in the State. Charges of extensive frauds in registration and of lavish use of money in behalf of Senator Pepper led to the appointment by the Senate, on the day following the primary election, of an investigating committee.

Of the eight Republican candidates for the Senate in Oregon, one was "wet" and the others were "dry." The "wet" candidate, L. H. Sandblast, summed up his platform on this point in demands for "wine and beer under Government control" and "no saloons." The nomination of Frederick Steiwer, the successful candidate, appeared to be due to the division of the vote among many candidates, the desertion of Stanfield by the regular Republican organization, and personal criticism of Stanfield because of his arrest at Baker, Ore., about a year and a half ago, on a charge of drunkenness and his failure to appear in court to answer to the charge.

In Iowa the opposition to Senator Cummins was headed by former Senator Brookhart, insurgent Republican, who was recently unseated by the Senate on the ground of irregularities in his election, and whose large majority over Senator Cummins decisively substantiated his claim to have the support of labor and especially of the farmers.

It was reported at the end of May that the New York "drys" were considering the revival of the old Prohibition Party as a means of defeating the renomination of Senator Wadsworth, a "wet." A split in the Republican ranks was also noted in Vermont, where former Governor William M. Stickney, law partner of Attorney General Sargent, entered the Senatorial contest against Senator Dale, who had differed with the Administration regarding several important matters of legislation.

President Coolidge's public speeches during the month, in addition to the speech at Williamsburg, Va., already referred to, included an address of welcome at the second Pan-American Red Cross conference at Washington on May 25; an address on May 29 at the unveiling of a monument to John Ericsson, the designer of the

Monitor, at Washington, and a Memorial Day address at Arlington Cemetery on May 31. The last address embodied a warning against intolerance and an appeal to the nations of Europe to "join with us in laying aside suspicions and hatreds" and reach an agreement among themselves in regard to disarmament.

BUSINESS CONDITIONS

Business activity continued at a moderate pace, with substantial curtailment of real estate speculation and some irregularity in the motor industry and in iron and steel. Opinion in banking and business circles at the end of May, however, appeared to be more hopeful. Statistics of trade and industry were in general favorable, and the number of business failures declined. An import surplus of \$10,000,000 in April, the fourth successive month of a so-called "adverse balance," was not regarded as alarming, the figure being due in large part to continued high prices of imported rubber and a decline in prices and quantities of exported cotton and grain. Reports issued on May 29 by the Department of Commerce and the Federal Reserve Board showed that manufacturing production in April was at the highest point that had been reached since the close of the World War. A considerable recession of general business activity was, however, noted in New England, and unfavorable weather conditions had shown their effect widely in agriculture.

In a radio address delivered at Washington on May 19 to the annual convention of the National Electric Light Association at Atlantic City, N. J., Secretary Mellon declared that the Coolidge Administration had made it plain that it "will not interfere with legitimate business merely because it is big, but desires that business and industry, so far as possible, shall work out their own problems, provided they conform strictly to the law."

Notwithstanding the tax reductions voted by Congress, internal revenue receipts continued to rise. For the ten months ended April 30 the receipts were \$2,225,679,822.97, against \$2,035,486,362.14 for the corresponding period of the previous fiscal year, a gain of \$190,193,460.83.

The Florida freight embargo which was

imposed last October was lifted on May 16.

CRIME AND CRIMINALS

Discussion of crime and its prevention was replaced during the month, in a number of States, by specific criticism of penal administration and the treatment of convicts, and by charges of police brutality in the treatment of arrested persons. A grand jury in Illinois reported on May 26, after two weeks of investigation, that conditions at the State prison at Joliet were "a disgrace to the State and a menace to its people," and recommended the dismissal of a number of officials. The next day John L. Whitman, the warden of the Joliet prison, was removed from office by Governor Small. An investigation of the State prison at Trenton, N. J., the prison farm at Leesburg, and the various convict road camps, inspired by the escape of some ten convicts during the past year and by allegations of thefts and lax discipline in the penal institutions, was begun at Trenton on June 2.

A grand jury investigation of the convict leasing system in Alabama, still in progress when this review was prepared, brought out allegations of revolting barbarity in the treatment of convicts. Complaint by a committee of the New York County Lawyers' Association, in April, of alleged brutal treatment of prisoners by the police, was repeated on May 20 in a formal report made to the association. Police Commissioner McLaughlin was quoted as denying the truth of the allegations.

A motion for a new trial of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who were found guilty by a jury in July, 1921, of the murder of a shoe company paymaster and guard at South Braintree, Mass., and for whose defense a fund of some \$280,000 was raised in this country and abroad, was denied by the full bench of the Massachusetts Supreme Court on May 12. On May 29 a rehearing of arguments on exceptions was also refused.

The appointment of a State Crime Commission in New Hampshire, the first of such appointments to be made in response to a request of the National Crime Commission, was announced on May 31.

Hubert Work, the Secretary of the Interior, and Elwood Mead, the Director of

the Reclamation Service, were hanged in effigy at Scott's Bluff, Neb., on May 27, by farmers and others because of their alleged responsibility for the failure of the Government to furnish water for the irrigated portion of the North Platte Valley. On May 29 the Interior Department suggested that the operation of the irrigation project be taken over by the North Platte Water Users' Association on July 1, or six months in advance of the date specified in the contract. The area affected comprises some 107,000 acres in Nebraska and Wyoming.

A petition requesting an expert survey of financial and industrial conditions in Porto Rico, and Federal aid in refunding the bonded debt, liquidating the present deficit of the insular Treasury, and enabling the Porto Ricans to "cope with problems of public health and improvement," was filed with the Secretary of War on May 9 by representatives of the sugar producers, farmers and Chamber of Commerce of the island.

The legislative assembly of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, approved on May 29 petitions of merchants and proprietors, addressed to the President and Congress, urging that the naval officers who now administered the government of the Virgin Islands be not withdrawn "until a thorough investigation of the peculiar conditions here has been made and adequate measures for their improvement have been provided."

A suit to recover more than \$29,000,000, with interest from 1814, on account of 23,267,600 acres of land conveyed to the United States under alleged threats and intimidation on the part of General Andrew Jackson, was filed in the United States Court of Claims on May 26 by the Creek Nation of Indians.

The Sesqui-Centennial International Exhibition at Philadelphia, commemorating 150 years of American independence, was formally opened on May 31 with a parade three miles long and addresses by Secretary of State Kellogg, Secretary of Commerce Hoover, Mayor Kendrick and A. Phillips Randolph of New York, a negro. Most of the buildings were still incomplete and many of the exhibits had not yet been installed.

Our Mexican Policy Revealed in State Papers

Papal Representative Deported—American Catholics' Protest—Liberal Revolution Fails in Nicaragua—Banco Nacional Looted—Cuban Rail Strike

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas

THE Department of State made public on May 10 important documents relating to the diplomatic controversy between the Governments of the United States and Mexico from May, 1921, until the meeting of the United States-Mexican Commission in May, 1923. The documents in question consist of an announcement by the Department of State on June 7, 1921, of the Mexican policy of the new Harding Administration; the draft of a proposed Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and Mexico that was presented by United States Chargé Summerlin on May 27, 1921; the drafts of two claims conventions submitted by Mexican Foreign Minister Pani on Nov. 19, 1921, as counter-proposals to the State Department's project of a Treaty of Amity and Commerce; and some correspondence between Summerlin and Pani during 1922 and 1923.

The outstanding facts revealed by the documents are these: The United States Government refused to recognize the new Government of President Obregón unless the latter should first sign a treaty which would guarantee American property rights in Mexico acquired before May 1, 1917. The Mexican Government, by way of reply, offered no objection to any specific provision of the proposed treaty but insisted on recognition "without prejudice to its national dignity and sovereignty," and made counter-proposals for the adjustment of the differences and the restoration of formal diplomatic relations with the United States. These proposals called for (1) the creation of a special claims commission, similar to the one which now exists, which, it was asserted, was included "in the salutary political program of the Government of Mexico"; (2) the formal recognition

of the Obregón Government by that of the United States; and (3) the creation of a general claims commission similar to the present one. From their respective stands, as made clear by the State Department's proposed Treaty of Amity and Commerce and the Mexican counter-proposals to it, the two Governments refused to recede. The result was that the subsequent correspondence entered the controversial stage and the diplomatic *impasse* which had developed between the two Governments with the overthrow of Carranza in 1920 became more serious.

The first intimation of the willingness of either of the two Governments to make any concession concerning the controversy between them is contained in a note of instruction from Secretary of State Hughes to Chargé Summerlin which the latter sent to Minister Pani on Aug. 3, 1922. In that note Secretary Hughes stated: "But if the Mexican authorities will not enter into an appropriate treaty binding Mexico to respect the valid titles which had been acquired under Mexican laws prior to the Constitution of 1917, the question remains in what manner shall such assurances be given." This statement inspired Minister Pani in a note of March 31, 1923, to express satisfaction that Secretary Hughes's note of instruction had suggested "the possibility for a desirable change of procedure" on the part of the United States Government. At the same time Minister Pani took occasion to set forth at length the outstanding accomplishments, both at home and in the realm of its international obligations, of the Obregón Government. Minister Pani's almost impassioned exposition of an improving situation with respect to the protection of foreign rights in Mexico must have been somewhat con-

vincing to Secretary Hughes. At all events, President Harding in May, 1923, commissioned Messrs. Warren and Payne to go to Mexico to confer with two Mexican commissioners concerning the entire Mexican problem. It was this joint commission which finally reached understandings that resulted in the recognition of the Obregón Government by that of the United States and the drafting of two claims conventions in September, 1923.

Friction between Church and State in Mexico continued to agitate public opinion during May. Announcement was made on May 2 that the Catholic Laymen's League for Religious Defense had secured 500,000 signatures throughout Mexico to petitions which would be presented to the next Congress asking for a modification of the religious laws which the present Mexican Government has been enforcing with vigor since early in the year. In a preliminary trial held at Pachuca late in May Bishop Manrique Zarafe was found guilty of having protested against certain provisions of the Constitution and of having incited the people to rebellion and was sentenced to confinement in jail, pending a final trial. Subsequently, the Bishop was permitted to give bail on condition that he would not leave Pachuca.

The sensation of the month in the religious controversy was the expulsion by the Mexican Government of the Right Rev. George Caruana, Papal representative in Mexico, and a citizen of the United States. The order for the deportation of the Apostolic delegate was issued on May 15, or about a month after he had entered Mexico. Three days after the expulsion order Monsignor Caruana crossed the Mexican boundary at Laredo, Texas. The following day (May 19) Archbishop Mora del Rio of Mexico City in an open letter to President Calles declared that Monsignor Caruana's deportation was "atrociously unjust."

Mexican Minister of the Interior Tejada on May 27 justified the expulsion of Monsignor Caruana on the ground that a month before the latter entered Mexico immigration regulations had been issued which prohibited the entry of a foreign cleric. Minister Tejada argued, therefore, that Monsignor Caruana's entry into Mexico was *prima facie* illegal. In a statement by

Minister Tejada on May 22 a warning was issued that all foreign Protestant ministers who failed to comply with the Constitution and laws of Mexico would be deported. This action followed a decree for the expulsion of Dean Peacock, an English clergyman of the Episcopal Church, who was charged with having officiated in Christ Church Cathedral in violation of the provisions of the Mexican Constitution.

Agitation concerning the enforcement of the religious laws by the Mexican Government was not confined to Mexico. The Massachusetts State Council, Knights of Columbus, on May 11, passed resolutions condemning the action of the Mexican Government in enforcing the religious provisions of the Constitution and requested Secretary Kellogg "to take up the cause of American citizens whose liberties have been ended, their properties confiscated and their persons outraged." Five days later Archbishop Hanna of San Francisco characterized the expulsion of Apostolic Delegate Caruana "as an affront to his position as a high church dignitary and to his rights as an American citizen." This action was cited as evidence of the Mexican Government's "contempt for both religion and the civil rights of our own country."

Two days later (May 18) the National Catholic Welfare Conference made public a letter to President Coolidge. In this letter the declaration was made that the provisions of the Mexican Constitution wiped out "every vestige of religious liberty," and grave concern was expressed because of the "present conduct of the Government of Mexico." It was unofficially reported from Washington on May 17 that Secretary of State Kellogg, while recognizing Mexico's right to administer her own laws, had interceded on two occasions for Monsignor Caruana and that Ambassador Sheffield in Mexico City had tendered his good offices in the case.

The Mexican Attorney General early in May issued orders for the arrest of several prominent residents of Mexico City on charges of complicity in the assassination of President Madero in 1913.

Late in May several Americans, in widely separated parts of Mexico, were kidnapped by bandits and held for ransom. Three of the captured men, Briggs and

Greely, oil drillers at Tampico, and C. B. Baden, mining engineer of the State of Durango, were released by May 29. The fate of J. W. Shanklin, an American employe of the El Portrero sugar plantation of the State of Vera Cruz, and that of Jules Gallagher, mining engineer of Durango, was unknown as late as May 31.

Nicaragua

THE Liberal revolution hatched at Bluefields early in May against the Government of the Conservative *de facto* President Emiliano Chamorro apparently had been completely extinguished before the end of the month. The revolution, although limited almost entirely to the vicinity of Bluefields, caused the Chamorro Government to adopt energetic defensive and offensive measures, and was not devoid of international significance. Upon the outbreak of the revolution seventy prominent Liberals from León and as many more from throughout Nicaragua were arrested and imprisoned in Managua with thirty-two prominent Liberals of that city. It was officially reported to the Department of State on May 6 that General Chamorro had placed 3,000 men under arms during the preceding week and that, although many men were enlisting, orders had been given to search the homes for men of military age who might be in hiding. Most of the Pacific Coast garrisons were reported to have been strengthened and forces were being hastened to Bluefields.

Meanwhile, rebel forces in control of Bluefields entered forcibly the Banco Nacional and were reported to have carried away some \$161,000 in issue bills. As a consequence of the bank being chartered under the laws of Connecticut Louis F. Rosenthal entered a protest with the Department of State. By May 7 the Liberals, who numbered about 1,200, were in control of Bluefields, El Bluff, Rama, La Cruz, Rio Grande, Bragman's Bluff and Corn Island. The same day United States Marines landed from the U. S. S. Cleveland and declared Bluefields a neutral zone. Business was resumed and full protection was given to the Banco Nacional. Protection was also accorded to the Collector of Customs and the Custom House at El Bluff.

On May 17 the Liberals called upon W. J. Crampton, American Collector of Customs at Bluefields, to deliver the customs revenues to them. When he refused to do so he was removed from office. The seizure of the custom houses on the Atlantic Coast being in violation of the financial plan of Nicaragua that has been approved by the Department of State, Collector-General of Customs Clifford D. Ham entered a protest with Washington. The matter was further complicated by the fact that £1,250,000 of British bonds issued in 1909 had a first lien on the customs revenues, while bonds of 1913, which were issued by a commission appointed by the Department of State to adjust Nicaragua's national debt, were also guaranteed by a surcharge on the customs revenues.

As a result of 3,000 Government troops being sent to the Atlantic Coast the revolutionists were soon on the defensive. Government forces recaptured Rama on May 20 with the loss of 33 killed and 60 wounded on both sides. The chief loss was suffered by the American trained constabulary, which bore the brunt in opposing the insurgents. The same day the Government was reported to be so confident of winning that 140 political prisoners were released at Managua. On May 24 Bluefields and on May 25 El Bluff were captured by Government forces, the former without any fighting having occurred. Conditions were reported to be approaching normal by May 27, after what was characterized as the most serious revolutionary activity in Nicaragua since 1912. Early in June the United States Marines withdrew from Bluefields.

Cuba

THE sugar restriction law, which was designed to restrict the present crop to a maximum of 4,700,000 long tons, as compared with a production of approximately 5,125,000 long tons last year, was signed by President Machado on May 4.

Train traffic was paralyzed in all parts of Cuba by a strike that was put into operation on May 10 by the Railroad Brotherhood. The following day President Machado issued a statement in which

he declared that the strike on certain roads was in violation of formal promises made to him that a strike would not be called. Accordingly, he gave the strikers seventy-two hours to return to their posts, after which he agreed to act as arbiter in the conflict between the railroads and the Brotherhood. The strikers on the United Railways of Havana, one of the lines affected by the strike order, returned to work by May 14. Only one disturbance with one consequent serious casualty was reported in Havana in connection with the strike.

The strike, however, was prolonged in the Provinces of Camaguey and Oriente,

both of which were virtually placed under martial law by a Presidential decree of May 15. In those provinces shops, stations and moving trains were kept under military protection during the remainder of the month. Several strikebreakers were assaulted in Santiago and several bombing attempts were frustrated along the railroad lines. Brotherhood officers were reported to have been intimidated by the soldiers. In Camaguey sixty-four strikers were arrested after an attempt to bomb a train on May 26. Two leaders of the Cuba Railroad strike were arrested on May 28 charged with complicity in recent bombings of trains near Santa Clara.

[SOUTH AMERICA]

Proposed Partition of Tacna-Arica Provinces

Plan to Divide Territory Between Chile, Peru and Bolivia—Brazilian Budget Balanced—Military Control Ended in Ecuador—Venezuela's Oil and Land Boom

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania

THE Tacna-Arica controversy continued to occupy the attention of conferences between Secretary of State Kellogg and the Ambassadors of Chile and Peru in Washington. No public announcement of the progress of negotiations was made during May. "Negotiations are going on" was all the State Department consented to make public. Of the two propositions laid down by Secretary Kellogg on April 15, first, that the Province of Tacna be a neutralized independent State or, second, that the territory be transferred to a South American State not party to the dispute, the first was evidently rejected early in the Washington conferences. The second seemed to offer a solution to the controversy.

An important modification was made in the second proposal. Peruvian officials asserted in Lima on May 19 that an agreement in principle had been reached in accordance with which the territory was to be divided among Chile, Peru and Bolivia. Although the Peruvian Government itself

maintained the strictest reserve in the matter, these officials declared that under the agreement the Province of Tacna would go to Peru and the Province of Arica to Chile, while a corridor between the two provinces would be given to Bolivia in return for monetary indemnification to both Peru and Chile.

General Arturo Alessandri, former President of Chile and a staunch advocate of the peaceful settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute, arrived in New York on May 26. He brought with him for President Coolidge a petition signed by 4,000 residents of the disputed territory, members of the Association of the Sons of Tacna and Arica. The petition favored settlement through plebiscitary rather than diplomatic channels.

The second Pan-American Red Cross Conference was held in Washington during the first week in June. As in the case of the Pan-American Congress of Journalists, the discussion of questions of international interest—health and relief work—

was planned to bring about greater understanding and sympathy between the peoples of the Americas.

Argentina

ON the night of May 16 a bomb was exploded in front of the American Embassy in Buenos Aires. No one was injured and damage was slight. It is thought that the incident was connected with the recent denial of a new trial for Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italians convicted of murder in Massachusetts. Argentine officials called at the Embassy to express regret and give assurance of a thorough investigation. More than fifty arrests were made as a consequence of the outrage.

The Argentine Cabinet authorized on May 20 the expenditure of \$32,000,000 for the purchase of two small cruisers, three submarines, two destroyers and two gunboats, with a total tonnage of 15,000.

Brazil

AT the opening of the Brazilian Congress on May 3 President Arturo Bernardes reviewed in his message the important domestic happenings of 1925. The report was optimistic and pointed to great progress in both fiscal and administrative affairs. He recommended to Congress the consideration of certain constitutional and legislative reforms, including revision of the commercial code, and the continuance in service of ranking officials of the retiring administration as a consulting body to assist the new administration in an unofficial capacity. The present administration is due to end next November. The President stated his belief that the secret ballot would regularize voting and he urged the enactment of a law making voting obligatory. He also advocated the fulfillment of the constitutional provision transferring the national capital from Rio de Janeiro to Goyaz.

Discussing the financial situation, President Bernardes showed that for the first time since 1907 the budget had been balanced and a surplus of 340 contos appeared for 1925 (the paper conto is worth about \$145 at present rate of exchange). During the three preceding years a deficit

had existed. Since 1914 the industries and internal trade of the republic had expanded notably, new productive regions had been developed, and the entire economic equipment of the country had been enlarged and placed on a firmer basis than ever before. Such national expansion, especially under the abnormal conditions of the past decade, put a strain on the financial resources of the Government. The reaction upon the Federal Treasury was apparent in annual deficits of alarming proportions. The succession of unbalanced budgets and issues of depreciating paper money finally brought conditions to a point where only the most adroit and vigorous management of public affairs could effect a reform. The present surplus was due to rigid adherence to a program announced by President Bernardes when he took office in 1922.

The press announced on May 16 that Dr. Washington Luis, President-elect of Brazil, would visit the United States. As the new administration does not function until November, President-elect Luis desired in the meantime to discuss political and financial relations between Brazil and the United States. It was reported that he had negotiated a loan of \$60,000,000, to be floated jointly in New York and London. The New York portion of the loan, amounting to \$35,000,000, in the form of bonds of the United States of Brazil bearing 6¾ per cent. interest, was offered by American bankers late in May and found a ready market, being quickly oversubscribed. Resentment in England against Brazil, because the latter country blocked the program for the entry of Germany into the League of Nations last March, was said to have caused the abandonment for the time being of plans to float \$30,000,000 of the Brazilian bond issue in the London market.

Chile

THE Chilean Parliament opened on May 22 with the customary ceremony. President Figueroa read his message in which he declared that peace and order prevailed throughout Chile. In regard to the Tacna-Arica problem the President said: "There remains only the execution

of the award handed down by the arbiter, which conforms to our demand for realization of the plebiscite." The message stated that the negotiations in Washington between the American Department of State and the Ambassadors of Chile and Peru constituted an exchange of ideas designed, without prejudice to bring to a focus the plebiscitary procedure.

The Chilean Congress was requested to authorize the Government to contract a loan of \$150,000,000 to consolidate external and internal debts.

William M. Collier, American Ambassador to Chile, was granted sixty days' leave from his post to visit the United States. In a formal statement on May 6 Secretary Kellogg said that reports of the Ambassador's impending retirement were "entirely without foundation."

In a lengthy statement to the press in Santiago on June 1 Ambassador Collier declared that the offer of the United States to attempt the settlement of the Tacna-Arica dispute by direct negotiation was first suggested by Chile. Mr. Collier's statement showed that a telegram sent by him to Washington last October, at the request of Señor Jorge Matte Gormaz, then Chilean Foreign Minister, outlined the plan by which the United States should use its "good offices" to settle the dispute without controversy. At the same time Señor Agustín Edwards, chief of the Chilean delegation at Arica, was instructed to carry on negotiations for a direct settlement simultaneously with the plebiscitary proceedings.

Colombia

CONTINUED prosperity in Colombia, together with extreme drought and extensive railroad construction, brought about serious congestion in Colombian ports. Navigation on the Magdalena River, the main artery of transportation from the Caribbean to the interior, was suspended intermittently for more than five months. Puerto Colombia and Barranquilla, ports on the Caribbean, was congested during June with thousands of tons of freight which would require six to eight months to move and distribute.

Ecuador

ON May 6 the Minister of Government informed the press that military control was ended and that thereafter the affairs of the country were in the hands of civilians. The Military Junta was dissolved. From April 2, 1926, the Ecuadorian Government was directed by Dr. Isidro Ayora, "President of the Council of Government," assisted by a council under the supervision of a military triumvirate. These authorities assumed control in July, 1925, when a bloodless revolution ousted the civil powers.

Uruguay

THE Uruguayan Congress authorized the Government to borrow \$30,000,000 from New York bankers, the money to be expended partly in consolidating and refunding small loans, but chiefly for the construction of public works.

On June 4 a bomb was exploded in front of the United States Legation in Montevideo, an outrage identical with that in Buenos Aires two weeks previously. Twenty suspected radicals were taken into custody, but yielded no clue up to June 7. The incident might have been one more protest against the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti, found guilty of murder in Massachusetts. Handbills threatening revenge were distributed in Montevideo just before the bomb explosion.

During the British general strike a Government decree was issued in Montevideo forbidding the export of coal from Uruguay. This action was taken to reserve stocks imported for home consumption. Its result was felt by foreign ships which bunker at Uruguayan ports.

Venezuela

AN oil boom was experienced in the Maracaibo district of Venezuela where production has been doubling annually for the last seven years. Last year it amounted to twenty million barrels; an official estimate of petroleum production in this area for 1926 placed the output at thirty-five million barrels. Real estate rose in price and there was considerable building activity.

Aftermath of the British General Strike

Question of Legality of Union Action Raised—Continuance of Coal Stoppage—Canada's National Railways—Australian Progress in Twenty-five Years—South African Nationalism—Indian Agricultural Policy

By RALSTON HAYDEN

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EFFORTS to restore normal conditions of life and labor and to secure an adjustment of the differences between the miners and their employers, which would permit the operation of the mines pending a reorganization of the mining industry, occupied the attention of every element of the British people during the weeks that followed the termination of the general strike on May 12. It was generally recognized that normal conditions would return only very slowly, that all parties to the struggle, including the public, would suffer from what had happened, and that the problems of the coal industry were as far from solution as they had been before the general stoppage occurred. Outstanding among the results of the nine days' struggle was the acceptance throughout Great Britain of the conclusion that in that country, at least, the general strike could not be successfully used as a weapon in industrial disputes. The contention of the Government that the strike was a blow at constitutional government itself apparently was widely accepted. The British public, which as a whole seemed to feel that a minority had taken it by the throat, responded as freemen always do to such treatment. The army remained obviously and completely loyal. With both forces and public opinion against them in the means which they had chosen to support the miners, the Trades Union leaders could only choose to abandon those means. The ineffectiveness of the general strike was recognized by many of the Labor leaders themselves. In a speech on May 24, J. R. Clynes, Lord Privy Seal in the late Labor Cabinet, declared:

A national strike alters the whole material and mental position of the people. Considerable groups of workers are soon detached from the

main body and can be induced or compelled to serve on the side of the Government, and there speedily develops the worst of all forms of class war, that between sections of the working class itself. It would be unwise ever to repeat what has been done, and we will prove very short-sighted if we do not learn some priceless lessons for the future.

Of the two major problems which faced the country after the strike had ended, that of getting back to work those employes who had gone out in sympathy with the miners was at once attacked with a fair degree of success. During the first week or so progress seemed to be slow and there were bitter complaints by union leaders of the "victimization" of the former strikers. It was declared that some employers were taking advantage of the situation to force down wages or otherwise deprive workers of advantages won through years of effort.

In the House of Commons Prime Minister Baldwin declared that he would not countenance any such attempts. By personal appeal and by censuring over the radio vengeful employers he exerted a remarkable influence in preventing reprisals. Both he and the Labor leaders made it evident that public opinion would be marshaled against any attempt at guerrilla warfare on either side. The result was that by the end of May most of the men who could be re-employed in the dislocated condition of industry had been taken back, and the general situation was as satisfactory as could be expected in the face of the continued paralysis of the coal industry. That the general strike had dealt Great Britain a staggering blow, however, was recognized on all sides. The most generally accepted estimate of the direct loss to the country was \$250,000,000, while

the indirect injury to British trade, to individuals, and to the nation at large was incalculable.

The actual negotiations regarding the resumption of work were carried on separately in each trade or industry by representatives of the employers and of the unions concerned. In most cases the agreements which were signed included definite provisions upon points which had been in dispute before the strike, and the general tone of the documents reflected the lack of success which had attended the walk-out.

Another, and even more important, effect of the struggle upon the position of organized labor in Great Britain grew out of questions which arose as to the legality of the general strike. Speaking in the House of Commons on May 11, Sir John Simon, a Liberal who is sympathetic with organized labor and at the same time one of the outstanding legal authorities of the Kingdom, declared that properly understood the general strike was not a labor dispute at all. He was quite willing to

believe, he said, that it had its origin in a trade dispute, but once people proclaimed a general strike, they were, as a matter of fact, starting a movement of a perfectly different and a wholly unconstitutional and unlawful character. "A strike," Sir John Simon pointed out, "is a strike against employers to compel employers to do something. A general strike is a strike against the general public to make the public, Parliament, and the Government do something." He then quoted a judgment which had been given that morning by Mr. Justice Astbury in a dispute concerning the Sailors' and Firemen's Union, in the course of which the judge said:

The so-called general strike called by the Trades Union Council Committee is illegal and contrary to law, and those persons inciting or taking part in it are not protected by the Trades Disputes Act of 1906. No trade dispute has been alleged or shown to exist in any of the unions affected except in the miners' case and no trades dispute does or can exist between the Trades Union Council on the one hand and the Government and the nation on the other hand.

Proceeding from these premises the



ENGLISH COAL CONFLICT

Britannia (pushing away State subsidy, to King Coal): "No, you must learn to walk on your own legs!"

—De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

judge concluded that the strike orders which called out members of the unions other than those of the miners were illegal; that no trade unionist could lose his trade union benefit by refusing to obey such orders, and that trade union funds could not be lawfully used for strike pay in such circumstances. A further conclusion to be drawn from the position taken was that both unions and the individual unionists were liable for breach of contract for participating in such a strike. The Bradford Dyers' Association on May 16 announced that it would immediately begin a test case to establish this legal principle.

To sum up, it may be said that the general strike failed because the Government was prepared to keep the essential national services going, and because public opinion was definitely and actively against it; that the three million sympathetic strikers were taken back so far as the conditions of industry permitted and with a minimum of permanent bitterness on both sides; that the new, or supplementary trade agreements on the whole were advantageous to the employers; that very serious doubts were cast upon the legality of the general strike, and that the question of individual liability on the part of general strikers made it a dangerous weapon for the unions to use.

With the dispute between the miners and the mine owners still unsettled, the Prime Minister on May 14 announced to the House of Commons that, as the miners and the owners were in hopeless disagreement, he had framed a set of proposals which would be submitted to both parties.

The miners' delegate conference rejected the proposals, mainly on the ground that they could not accept the Prime Minister's proposals for a reduction in wages, "which admittedly do not at present provide for a decent standard of living," and because they objected to the proposal that a board with an independent Chairman should be empowered to abolish the national minimum and enforce variable minima throughout the districts. The miners' representatives added: "We consider that in making these proposals the Prime Minister is not honoring the pledge he gave to the country in the message broadcast on May 8 as follows: 'I wish to make it as

clear as I can that the Government is not fighting to lower the standard of living of the miners or any other section of the workers.'"

The Prime Minister, in his reply (dated May 22) to the Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, pointed out that the terms which he had put forward on behalf of the Government were

based upon the report of the Royal Commission, and contained a statement in detail of the immediate steps that the Government proposed toward the fulfillment of their undertaking to play their part in giving effect to the report, provided that the other parties accepted it. They also contained an offer to give a further subsidy of £3,000,000 to the industry, in addition to the £23,000,000 already voted by Parliament.

Among the most emphatic conclusions of the Commission was their conclusion that disaster was impending over the industry, which could only be averted by an immediate reduction in labor costs of production. It was clear from the resolution of your conference that your Federation, though they largely agree with the Government's legislative and administrative proposals, still refuse to consider any alteration of wages or hours. So long as this is their attitude, and in the absence of any practical proposals from the Federation designed to meet the circumstances of the industry, the Prime Minister does not see that any useful purpose would be served by his meeting you, but he will hold himself available to arrange a further discussion the moment that he is informed that you find yourselves in a position to submit suggestions of the kind required.

The Government have never concealed the fact that there are recommendations in the report that they only accepted with reluctance, and could not have accepted except in the hope of a general settlement. This hope has been disappointed. In these circumstances it must be clearly understood that the Government regain their freedom for all purposes, and no longer hold themselves bound by the terms of an offer which has been rejected. In particular, in view of the great and growing burden imposed on the national finances by the general strike, and the present stoppage in the coal-mining industry, it will be impossible for the Government to hold open beyond the end of the present month the offer of any further subsidy.

* * * You are mistaken in supposing that there is any discrepancy between that sentence in the Prime Minister's broadcast speech to which you refer and the proposals put forward by him on behalf of the Government. No such discrepancy exists, and in the opinion of the Prime Minister the terms proposed, if accepted by both sides with good spirit, would by their results have fully justified those sentences of his speech to which you call attention.

Mr. Baldwin's reply (also dated May 22) to the mine owners, who also rejected his proposals, after expressing great regret at their uncompromising attitude, went on to say:

He [the Prime Minister] is aware that the immediate cause of the present deadlock is the refusal of the Miners' Federation to consider any concession that would give such a reduction in costs of production as the Royal Commission pointed out was indispensable, and he recognizes that, so long as this attitude is maintained, further negotiations must be futile. He recognizes, too, that while the attitude of the Miners' Federation remains exactly what it was last July, the colliery owners have made some advances from their original position in order to try to reach a settlement.

But he profoundly disagrees with your association in attributing the troubles of the industry to "political interference." The Government have, in many instances, made it clear that they do not desire to interfere in trade disputes in which there is an indication that the parties are able and willing to settle those disputes for themselves. But he would point out that what is called "political interference" in the mining industry has been entirely due to the incapacity, now again so conspicuously shown, of that industry, unlike other industries, to settle its disputes for itself. He deplores your association's apparent inability to recognize that it was quite impossible for any Government to have stood aside in matters where the national well-being is so vitally and disastrously affected.

The essential feature of the proposal laid before you by the Government was that both sides should agree to leave the crucial point of the dispute—the figure of minimum percentage on basis in the various districts—to be determined in the last resort by arbitration. This is a principle that has over and over again been accepted by other great industries. It is true that the attitude of the other side has made it at present impossible of application in the present dispute, whatever were the attitude of your association. But the Prime Minister cannot refrain from the comment that, in summarily rejecting the proposal as one that "seeks to impart an element of coercion into the machinery of negotiation," your association appears to show an inadequate ap-



"WORK DID IT, BOYS."

—New York World

preciation both of the nature of the proposal and of the gravity of the present situation.

Although the Government's offer of a £3,000,000 subsidy lapsed at midnight on May 31, Mr. Baldwin announced in the House of Commons on the following evening that he was still willing to reward a settlement of the coal strike by providing financial assistance. The debate during which this statement was made concluded with a vote of 252 to 108 in support of the Government. Continuation during the coal strike of the emergency regulations passed on the advent of the general strike was approved by the House of Commons on June 2. Sir William Joynson-Hicks, the Home Secretary, stated that the total number of cases under the regulations during the strike was 1,716; the number of persons sentenced to prison was 629, and the number fined was 638. The Home Secretary added that he could not advise a general amnesty.

A sign of peace was seen in the announcement on June 3 that Evan Williams, Chairman of the Mining Association, representing the owners, had invited Herbert Smith, President of the Miners' Federation, to meet him informally at an early date. Smith had meanwhile gone to Brus-

sels to attend the special meeting of the International Miners' Federation, which ended on June 4 after all the delegates had pledged themselves to continue preventing coal from European countries reaching Great Britain.

After being on strike five weeks most of the miners and their families were suffering severely. Sympathy for them was widespread, and subscriptions for the fund to help the women and children were being received from all classes of the British public. At the same time all industry and commerce was being slowly but surely crippled by the "creeping paralysis" caused by the complete cessation of mining.

One of the interesting ancillary effects of the great strike was a serious crisis in the Liberal Party. In a letter addressed to David Lloyd George, Lord Oxford and Asquith attacked the course pursued by the leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons in terms which seemed to call for a final settlement of the long-standing feud between the two men. Mr. Lloyd George was criticized for condoning the strike, for failing to attend a meeting of the Liberal "shadow cabinet," which stood ready to act for the party and the country in the national emergency, and for writing for the American press an article which contained "despondent though highly colored pictures of our national straits." Mr. Lloyd George defended himself vigorously against these charges. At a meeting of thirty-four of the forty Liberal members of the House of Commons on June 3 a resolution urging the need of party unity was considered, but without a vote being taken, though it was clear that the resolution would be carried, if necessary. Instead, three members were delegated to convey to Lord Oxford the "sense of the meeting." This was regarded as a victory for Lloyd George, who at the same time issued a statement in which he characterized as "foolish" the story that he was seeking a pretext for joining another party, declaring that he was "not a Socialist, but a Liberal." Lord Oxford in a speech on June 4 said that he had nothing to add to or take away from what he had already said, thus indicating that he was not willing to become reconciled with Lloyd George. "I have no intention to accept my dismissal from the

Liberal Party," was the challenging reply of Lloyd George on the following day in a speech before the Manchester Reform Club. He complained that the merely temporary internal party differences over the general strike had received too much publicity, overemphasizing their importance in the eyes of the public, and concluded by exclaiming: "If there is to be a split, let it be on a real quarrel, and not on a rotten quibble."

Ireland

RESENTMENT of British customers at the duties imposed upon certain British goods entering Ireland has led the farmers of the Free State to come out strongly in opposition to the application of the protective tariff to additional articles of import. Although the Government pledged itself a year ago not to add to the list of import duties before a general election, manufacturing interests had sought to secure the assent of the agriculturists to the extension of protection to a numerous list of articles, including certain agricultural products. Fear that Great Britain might retaliate by interfering with the free entrance of their butter, meat and eggs was the dominant element in the Irish farmers' decision not to risk being placed at a disadvantage in what was virtually their only market.

Canada

INCREASED prosperity in almost every field of activity was revealed in the Canadian economic reports of the month under review. Throughout the Western Provinces conditions were highly favorable for seeding and early crop growth and experts stated that in wide areas crops had been pushed far in advance of the average for this time of year. Retailers and wholesalers reported an improvement in the demand for seasonal lines of goods, while most of the mills and manufacturing plants were running full time. It was also declared that the business uncertainty which had been caused by the introduction of the budget had largely passed. In final trade figures for the complete fiscal year 1925-1926, which ended March 31, the Customs Department estimated the total

value of Canada's external trade at \$2,255,860,762, an increase of \$377,500,000 over the preceding year.

Further evidence of improving economic conditions was given in the annual estimates of the Canadian National Railways, presented to the Dominion House of Commons on May 25. In presenting his proposals, the Minister of Railways and Canals declared: "Given a reasonably good harvest and freedom from traffic losses due to labor difficulties, it may be possible for the National Railways this year to meet their entire interest charges due to the public." The operating results of the first four months of the present year, the Minister explained, indicated net earnings of \$9,689,217, as compared with a third of that amount during the same period of the previous year. The budget amount required for the present fiscal year was \$31,000,000, and the proposed gross capital expenditure \$19,127,284.

In the House of Commons the debate on the finance proposals continued, with indications that the Government's proposals would be accepted only with considerable modification. An item in the budget which attracted much interest was an appropriation of \$60,000 for "Canadian representation in the United States." This appropriation has been made for a number of years, but thus far no Government has established the diplomatic representation in Washington thus authorized.

Australia

CONSTITUTIONAL revision for the purpose of removing limitations placed upon the Federal Government twenty-five years ago when the Commonwealth was established was advocated recently by Dr. Earle Page, Federal Treasurer.

In summarizing the progress which Australia had made during the quarter-century under consideration, the Treasurer pointed out that population had increased from 4,000,000 to 6,000,000; production had doubled in quantity and quadrupled in value; oversea trade had tripled; depositors in savings banks had increased from 964,000 in 1901 to 3,800,000 in 1925, while deposits had increased from £31,000,000 to more than £177,000,000.

In New South Wales serious labor troubles disorganized industry during the greater part of May. The Labor Government having secured the passage of a bill fixing the hours of work at 44 a week, thousands of union workers employed under Federal awards prescribing 48 hours worked only 44 and demanded pay for 48, although the High Court declared the law unconstitutional. At the same time nearly every coal mine in the States of New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania became idle because the engine drivers and firemen were dissatisfied with an award of the Coal Industry Tribunal.

New Zealand

PRIME MINISTER COATES on May 23 announced further Ministerial changes consequent on the absence of Sir Francis Bell, former Minister of External Affairs, and the appointment of Sir James Parr as High Commissioner in London. The reorganized Cabinet was thus constituted:

Mr. COATES—Prime Minister, Public Works, Railways and Native Affairs.

DOWNIE STEWART—Finance and Customs.

A. D. MCLEOD—Lands, Industries and Commerce.

G. J. ANDERSON—Labor, Mines, Marine and Pensions.

W. NOSWORTHY—External Affairs, Posts and Telegraphs, Immigration and Tourist Department.

R. F. BOLLARD—Internal Affairs.

F. ROLLESTON—Attorney General and Defense.

O. J. HAWKER—Agriculture.

J. A. YOUNG—Health.

ROBERT WRIGHT—Education.

Sir HEATON RHODES—Leader of the Legislative Council (during Sir Francis Bell's absence).

Sir MAUI POMARE—Maori Member of the Executive Council.

Sir Francis Bell and D. H. Guthrie remained members of the Executive Council. Mr. Coates intends to relinquish the portfolio of Public Works later.

South Africa

SOUTH AFRICAN nationalism found expression during the month in the adoption of a national flag. The ensign is of red, green, yellow and blue bars. The new flag, however, was not regarded as a symbol of national unity by South Africans of British blood, nor by many of

Dutch descent; because it contained not even a suggestion of the Union Jack as a symbol of South Africa's place in the British Empire. In the debate on the subject General Smuts declared that the flag question could only be settled by agreement, and that a flag "forced on us without our consent would not be our flag," and that it would be a means of dividing instead of uniting the country. On state occasions the Union Jack will be flown beside the new ensign.

General satisfaction was expressed in both South Africa and India at the acceptance by the South African Government of India's proposal for a round-table discussion of the problem of Indians in South Africa.

The House of Assembly on May 4 passed the Color Bar bill, restricting certain occupations to whites, by 83 votes to 67. Other important political events of May were the passage of substantial increases of the tariff on motor bodies and certain iron and steel products, the nomination of candidates in the elections of the former German colony of Southwest Africa, and the report of a select committee which urged generous pensions for ex-officials of the former South African Republic.

India

AGRICULTURAL development assumed a place of increased importance in the policy of the Government of India with the advent of the new Viceroy, Lord Irwin, formerly Minister of Agriculture in the British Cabinet. During May definite preparations were made for the investigation to be conducted by the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture. The commission is headed by the Marquess of Linlithgow, President of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Agricultural College and a prominent figure in the British farming world. With him are associated both British and Indian experts in agriculture and economics.

A promising development of the educa-

tional system in the Punjab was revealed in a report recently published by the Education Department of that Province. Out of an increase of 400,000 pupils in the whole of India during the past three years Punjab had an increase of 150,000. Primary education was being extended by the widespread application of compulsion, this principle being in force in 449 rural school areas and thirty-eight urban areas throughout the Province. The Government had also established seventy-five schools for adults and was seeking to increase school attendance among the children of the depressed classes.

A communal disturbance broke out at Kharagpur, near Calcutta, on May 18, resulting in five persons being killed and twenty-one seriously injured. The same day strike riots took place in the jute mill area of Kankinara, the scene of the communal riots in October, 1924.

The Swarajists made a brief and unavailing return to the Bengal Legislative Council on May 17 in order to oppose the Emergency Security bill, which empowers a Commissioner of Police or Magistrate, on the proclamation of a state of emergency by the local Government, to expel up-country dangerous characters from Calcutta. On being defeated on the main issue, by 61 to 46 votes, the Swarajists again walked out.

The West Indies

A CONFERENCE of delegates from all the West Indian Colonies, from British Guiana and British Honduras, was opened in London on May 13 by Mr. Amery, the Colonial Secretary, the Chairman of the conference being Sir Edward Davson. Although a West Indian Federation is not regarded as practicable at present, the conference represented a step toward greater cooperation and united action and the creation of a Standing Conference, which would in effect be a replica for the West Indies of the Imperial Conference for the Empire as a whole.

Franc Falls Despite Debt Settlement

Drop Laid to Inflation—Briand Retains Confidence—Expert Commission Formulates Program—Industrial Conference With Germany—Belgian Cabinet Crisis

By CARL BECKER

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THE event of chief significance and interest in France during the last month was the steady fall of the franc, which reached the low point of 36.17 francs to the dollar on May 19. The event was especially discouraging because people had been led to suppose that the balancing of the budget and the settlement of the American debt would have the opposite result. Finance Minister P  ret, bound to make reassuring statements, announced that the cause of the fall was the British strike, which cut off French exports to England and made it necessary for British bankers to sell francs for pounds and dollars. While there may have been some truth in this explanation, the real difficulty was doubtless due to the widespread feeling that the stabilization of French finance was not to be expected in the near future. British opinion was especially pessimistic. A prominent English financier stated as early as April 20 that "there is no hope for France, financially speaking." French opinion was little more optimistic. Frenchmen as well as foreigners hastened to protect themselves by selling French securities; and so the franc fell because every one expected it to do so. Early enthusiasm for the voluntary subscriptions to the sinking fund waned toward the middle of May, and notwithstanding the statements of the Government it was taken for granted that the recently balanced budget was already unbalanced again.

It was inevitable that the Government should "take measures" to deal effectively with the situation. On May 7 Minister P  ret announced that he had ordered the banks to report daily the names of persons selling francs above a certain amount, together with the amount sold. Frequent conferences were held with British and

American financiers. On May 17, Minister P  ret was in London ostensibly negotiating with Winston Churchill with respect to the British debt, but really, it was reported, endeavoring to arrange for a loan for the stabilization of the franc. On May 19, President Doumergue, Minister P  ret and the Governor and Regents of the Bank of France held a conference at which, so Minister P  ret said, it was agreed "to use immediately, for the defense of the franc, all of the resources of which public credit can dispose." What these resources were could only be surmised. It was understood that the Morgan loan of \$100,000,000 was still intact, but that the Government was indisposed to use it without obtaining a much larger additional loan. The negotiations with the British Government, and with British and American bankers, especially with Benjamin Strong and Thomas Lamont, who were in Paris, were supposed to have as an object the floating of a large British and American loan to support the franc. But according to reports more or less well substantiated, the foreign bankers felt that additional loans should be preceded by a drastic reform of French financial measures. Their opinion seemed to be that the trouble was political as well as financial, and that the problem of French stabilization was really inseparable from that of Belgian and Italian stabilization.

Unable to obtain further loans, the Government and the Bank of France at last reached an agreement which contemplated the use of a part of the Morgan loan, if necessary, for the support of the franc. As a consequence of this, the franc recovered sharply on May 21, reaching 30.84 to the dollar on the Bourse. It was understood that the Regents of the Bank of France, in exchange for their aid to

the Government, stipulated that certain legislative measures be taken at once which would give freedom to capital, notably the repeal of laws to prevent the export of capital and laws controlling the operations on the Bourse.

Discussion of the franc was commonly associated with the question of the foreign debt. One of the chief motives in arranging a settlement of the American debt, not only in France but in Belgium and Italy, was the belief that such settlements would have a stabilizing effect on currency. Yet the agreements made with the United States were followed by a fall of the franc in France and Belgium, and of the lira in Italy. The result was to create a kind of vicious circle: The Government maintained that the debt agreement must be ratified in order to support the franc; the newspapers replied that it was impossible to carry out the agreement with the franc at 35 to the dollar, and likely to fall still further. Opposition to the agreement was nearly universal. Generally speaking, Frenchmen feel that the debt should be canceled. But apart from that, it was commonly felt that the payments should have been conditioned upon receipts from Germany. Minister Péret explained that Ambassador Berenger endeavored in vain to obtain a "safeguard provision." Premier Briand urged the ratification of the agreement, and endeavored to obtain support for it from all parties in the Chamber. The recovery of the franc on May 21 undoubtedly strengthened Minister Briand and diminished the opposition to the debt ratification, although it did nothing to satisfy the Socialists and Radical Socialists, who were strongly opposed to the use of the gold reserve for support of the franc.

It is obvious that the fall of the franc and the inflation of the currency are closely connected. Minister Péret announced that as long as he was Minister there would be no more inflation. But however that may be, the inflation of the currency has been continuous for the last three years, and the inflation bears a close relation to the amounts advanced by the Bank of France to the Government. Such advances to the State as these are called

for ordinarily when the Treasury has to meet maturing bonds. On May 20 the Treasury was called upon to meet something over 6,000,000,000 francs of maturing bonds. The obligation was met without more difficulty than usual, partly due to the fact that demands for payment were made on only about half the amount, partly to the fact that the advances to the State were increased by 250,000,000, occasioning an increase in note circulation during the week of 14,000,000.

During the month there was much political manoeuvring in preparation for the political struggle which was initiated by the meeting of the legislative bodies on May 27. After the recovery of the franc on May 21, and the end of war in Morocco and Syria, Premier Briand's position was undoubtedly much stronger than it would otherwise have been. But the Premier's tenure of power was very uncertain. The commitments which he made to the Regents of the Bank of France, while favorable to the conservative business interests, were naturally strongly opposed by the Socialists. The fate of Briand seemed thus to be in the keeping of Herriot and his followers. During the month M. Herriot made two important speeches. On May 20, speaking in the Lyons district, he gave a mild approval to the measures of the present Government. Speaking at Sainte-Etienne on May 23, he vaguely deprecated the "money power." The latter speech was taken as a bid for the support of the Socialists and a preparation for overthrowing the Briand Ministry. The situation was complicated by the fact that the English and American bankers were indisposed to make further loans to France until there was some assurance that the Briand Ministry would not be replaced by a Government of the parties of the Left. It was supposed, therefore, that Premier Briand would delay the debt question as long as possible in order to have ready a plan for financial reconstruction on the lines satisfactory to the foreign bankers. The first step in formulating such a plan was taken on May 26 when Minister Péret invited M. Sergeant, Honorary Governor of the Bank of France, to take the presidency of a committee to be appointed by the Cabinet with instruc-

tions to formulate a program for the refunding of the internal debt, the relief of the Treasury, and the stabilization of the franc.

Within two hours of the meeting of the Chambers on May 27 Premier Briand scored a victory and suffered a defeat. The Premier's first vote was to announce that the time was inconvenient for a discussion of the financial situation. Vincent Auriol, voicing the Socialist view, at once attacked the Government for submission to the bankers, and demanded that the expert commission should receive its instructions from the Chamber and not from the foreign and French bankers. The Premier asked for a vote of confidence, and was supported by a vote of 320-209. What saved him from defeat was a split in the Radical Party and the fact that the Nationalists of Louis Marin rallied to the Government. The next move was to ask that Tuesday, June 1, be set to discuss the new electoral bill. Both Nationalists and Socialists objected to this, and the request was rejected by a vote of 283-263. Although Premier Briand was careful not to make this vote a vote of confidence, it revealed the precariousness of his position.

As a result of the two votes on May 27, the Cabinet revised its program, and on May 29 announced that "the Government considers that its whole duty is to consecrate all of its activities to the saving of the franc to the exclusion for the present of all other questions." For this purpose it approved of the appointment of an expert commission "to supervise the movement of the market and suggest all decisions useful to the defense of the national money." On the other hand, the Government still objected to the "doctrinaire controversy" on the financial question, and requested the Chamber to postpone for the present such discussion. This decision was practically a defiance to the Socialists, and the meaning of it was that Premier Briand, whose Ministry nominally rests upon the Left, looked to the Centre and Right to support him in his plans for financial rehabilitation. Briand actually received this



"This time civilization is in progress, and nothing can arrest it!"
—*Canard Enchaîné, Paris*

support when, on May 1, the entire Royalist bloc, followed by the Clementists and Poincarists, voted for the Government, while the Socialists and all but twenty of the Radicals refused to support the leader whom they put in power three months ago. The Right supported Briand because they saw in his appointment of an expert commission a possible solution of the financial problem. The Left resented this relegation of the question to the bankers, their traditional enemies.

On the morning of June 1 the Radicals sent a delegation to Premier Briand asking him to set June 25 for the discussion of the financial program. The Premier refused on the ground that it was useless to discuss plans which were not matured. When the Chamber assembled, he again made the question of postponing the discussion until the Expert Commission should have a fully matured plan to lay before the Chamber a question of confidence. The Radicals and Socialists demanded assurances that Parliament would not thereby be abdicating its initiative, and it was hinted that this would be the first step in binding France to foreign bankers, as Germany was bound by the Dawes plan. Minister P  ret endeavored to give such assurances. The Government, he said, would retain full liberty to accept or reject the experts' advice; but the problem was after all a technical one, and it was necessary for the Government to adopt a policy which would reassure "those who have

money." This unfortunate phrase was greeted by loud and ironical applause from the Left. The most that either the assurances of Minister Péret or the passionate appeal of the Premier obtained from the Radicals was the abstention of 115 of the party from voting. If these had voted against the Government, Premier Briand would still have had a majority of 51 votes. The vote as taken was 313 to 147, in favor of the Government. The result indicated that Premier Briand would have, during the present short session of six weeks, the support of Louis Marin's party for his program of stabilization; but it was apparent from statements made in the Chamber on May 30 that few members of that party would approve of the American debt settlement.

Following upon the end of the Riffian war, which is dealt with elsewhere in this issue, the Moroccan problem entered a new stage. It was anticipated that the discussions over territorial and jurisdictional questions that had been under way between France and Spain might lead to the calling of an international conference, in which France, Spain, Great Britain and possibly the United States would participate, and which might have to reopen the question of Tangier, as both Spain and Italy would insist upon a revision of the régime prevailing there.

Belgium

DURING the past month the Belgian Government was faced by a double difficulty—the continued fall of the franc and a serious Cabinet crisis. It will be remembered that on March 14 the Belgian franc fell sharply as a result of the failure to obtain an English-American loan. The rumor, widely circulated, that the foreign bankers had made the loan conditional on concessions in the Congo and in respect to Belgian railroads was not confirmed, but it was understood that they were reluctant to make a loan until there was assurances that the Belgian budget could be permanently balanced. This the Belgian Ministry was unable to accomplish. On May 6, with a deficit for the year of 21,136,000,000, and in the midst of rumors of further inflation, three Ministers resigned. The

retiring Ministers were M. Rolin-Jacquemyns, M. Carton and M. Janssen, the latter being Minister of Finance. Thereupon the franc at once fell to 168 to the pound.

The following day Premier Pouillet endeavored to form a coalition Ministry by asking several members of the Catholic Party to join the Cabinet. The Catholics were opposed to the plan on the ground that it was necessary to form an entirely new Ministry. M. Brunet, Socialist President of the Chamber, was then invited by the King to form a Ministry. He endeavored to form a "National Union" Cabinet, to be composed of five Socialists, five Catholics, the three Liberals. The Liberals, however, made it a condition of their joining that the program of the new Cabinet should be limited to the financial problem, a condition which M. Brunet was unable to accept. On May 18 M. Henri Jaspar of the Catholic Party, and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, consented to form a Ministry, which four days later he completed with the following personnel:

HENRI JASPAR—Premier, Minister of the Interior and of Health.

PAUL HYMANS—Minister of Justice.

BARON MAURICE HOUTART—Minister of Finance and of the Colonies.

HENRI L. BAELS—Minister of Agriculture and of Public Works.

COMTE CHARLES DE BROQUEVILLE—Minister of National Defense.

EMILE VANDERVELDE—Minister of Foreign Affairs.

CAMILLE HUYSMANS—Minister of the Sciences and the Arts.

JOSEPH WAUTERS—Minister of Industry, Labor and Social Welfare.

EDUARD ANSEEL—Minister of Railroads, Marine, Posts and Telegraphs and Aeronautics.

EMILE FRANQUI—Minister without Portfolio.

M. Jaspar announced that the chief aim of his Cabinet would be the solution of the financial problem, and that he would ask Parliament for special powers to accomplish that end. He then outlined plans for the restoration of the franc, and by June 1 he had received votes of confidence from both the Chamber and the Senate. On June 5, the Senate unanimously approved the budget of the Jaspar Ministry, which would add 1,500,000,000 francs to the fiscal resources of Belgium, and would impose additional taxes on motor cars, theatres and income from real estate.

Marx Succeeds Luther as Chancellor

Alleged Monarchist Plot—Referendum on Hohenzollern Property—Export Surplus Drops—Steel Trust Financed in America—Local Option Defeated—Austria Reopens Trade With Russia

By HARRY J. CARMAN

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THE outstanding political event in Germany during the month was the resignation on May 12 of the Luther Cabinet. For weeks before its downfall the Luther Government had struggled with a number of important problems, including settlement of the ex-German ruling families' claims, valorization of pre-inflation bonds, mortgages and savings, taxation, and the flag question. It was on the last mentioned of these—the flag issue—that the Government went down to defeat in the Reichstag.

The Luther Government had decided on May 5 that the German diplomatic, consular and other Government officers abroad should use the old imperial colors of black, white and red alongside the black, red and gold of the Republic. On a Democratic motion disapproving this ruling, the Nationalists refrained from voting and consequently it was adopted by 176 Democratic, Socialist and Communist votes to 146 cast by the German and Bavarian People's Parties and the Catholic Centre which, with the Democrats, had formed the disrupted Cabinet coalition. Herr Koch, the Democratic leader, announced his party's withdrawal from the governmental coalition on the ground that the action on the flag issue had shown the Chancellor to be under the influence of the reactionary Right. The Chancellor, he furthermore declared, had handled the whole flag question in a manner rendering him unfit to hold his office.

In many quarters it was asserted that the refusal of the Nationalists to support the Government was merely the first step in a carefully laid monarchist plot to set up a Fascist dictatorship. As soon as the Luther Government should be forced out, it was alleged that one dominated by Alfred

Hugenberg, wealthy German newspaper owner, and Judge Heinrich Class, head of the Pan-German League, was to be named. General von Moehl, one of the most notorious of the ex-imperial commanders, it was said, was slated for the Ministry of Defense. Inasmuch as such a group could not gain parliamentary approval, the Reichstag was to be dissolved by executive decree. Finally the President of the Reich was to resign, thus leaving the reactionary group in full control. The scheme was to be financed by millionaire industrialists from the Rhineland and the Ruhr, including Dr. Voegler, head of the recently organized German steel trust; Emil Kirdorff, a veteran coal and iron magnate, and Herr Winkhaus, Chairman of the Mine Operators Association. The Black Reichswehr was to furnish the necessary military support.

How much of this reputed plot was fact and how much fiction it is difficult to say. Republican defenders declared that seventeen raids on the homes or offices of monarchist ringleaders, just before the resignation of the Luther Government, unearthed evidence of a more far-reaching conspiracy against the republic than had been evolved since the Kapp putsch of 1920. According to Count Westarp, the Prussian Government, which was controlled by the Socialists, organized the raids on the monarchistic leaders and organizations to arouse a political outcry against the Nationalists and camouflage the "growing danger of a Bolshevik revolution." Count Westarp bluntly accused Herr Kuelz, Democratic Minister of the Interior, of either participating in the Socialists' machinations or neglecting his duty.

Dr. Otto Gessler, Democrat and Minister of War in the Luther Cabinet, having

failed to form a new Government, President Hindenburg invited Dr. Wilhelm Marx, recently elected leader of the Centrist Party, Minister of Justice in the Luther Cabinet, Dr. Luther's predecessor and candidate for the presidency of the Republic, to accept the Chancellorship. He accepted on May 16, at the same time announcing that he would retain the Luther Cabinet. In advising Dr. Marx to take this action the Centrist and People's party leaders came to the conclusion that it was impossible, for the time being, to find a Government that could command a majority. Moreover they were of the opinion that the only Cabinet that could command the support of the Reichstag was one which followed the policies of the Luther Government.

The Marx Government, though considered by many as a temporary makeshift, at once tackled two of the weightiest problems with which the Luther Ministry had wrestled, namely, the flag issue and the royalist claims. On the flag question the orders of the previous Government were to be carried out pending the report of a committee appointed to find a compromise flag. Since the Constitution fixes hard and fast laws requiring referendums, there was nothing left to do but appoint the day when the German people would determine whether the Socialist-Communist proposal for expropriation of the Hohenzollerns and other former ruling families would meet with the approval of at least 50 per cent. of the voters. This date was fixed as June 20 by the Cabinet, and the Minister of the Interior was instructed to make preparations for holding an election.

Minister of Industry Neuhaus, on May 23, declared the foreign trade position of Germany to be unsatisfactory and suggested, first, that German import duties be increased in the coming general tariff; and second, that European duties on manufactured goods be regulated by agreement on the principles of the Brussels sugar convention of 1902. According to his view, as many States as possible should agree to limit their duties to a fixed percentage internationally agreed upon. They should then declare that import duties imposed by outside States exceeding this percentage would be regarded as export bounties and

should undertake to impose supplementary duties on goods brought from such outside States. Cables concerning America's proposed measure against Germany's bountied iron and steel made a considerable stir in German commercial circles. Manufacturers insisted that the present German system was inevitable until the Franco-Belgian "dumping" on the basis of depreciated exchange should cease.

Imports for the month of April, not including precious metals, amounted to 723,000,000 marks, as against 645,000,000 in March; while exports were 779,000,000 marks, as against 923,000,000. This showed an export surplus of only 56,000,000 marks, whereas the March export surplus was 278,000,000. It still compared unfavorably with an import surplus of 336,900,000 in April, 1925. The reason for this was that expansion of imports was recognized all along as inevitable and the repetition of the abnormally large March exports as improbable. Import of food-stuffs for April increased by 48,000,000 marks, thus accounting for much of the total increase. Exports of manufactured goods were 597,000,000 marks, whereas in March they reached 686,000,000; but they still remained well above the average monthly figure, which last year was 552,000,000. The main cause for the 144,000,000 marks decrease in exports, as compared with the preceding month, was the smaller shipment of textile goods. Total exports of raw and semi-manufactured goods, which were stated as 153,000,000, against 190,000,000 in March, were the lowest of any month since last September.

Receipts from taxation in Germany during April were 584,569,068 marks, as compared with 442,934,472 in March. The increase was mainly accounted for by the quarterly income tax payments. The showing was relatively favorable because the average monthly yield during the financial year ended in March was 571,300,000 marks. Revenue during the following months was expected to decline because of the new tax reductions coming into force during May.

The United Steel Works, Germany's largest trust, began operations on May 14. The Thyssen, Phoenix, Rheinstahl and Deutsch Luxemburg steel works were

joined to form the combine, which controls sixty-five furnaces and which can produce annually 3,700,000 tons of steel, 2,500,000 tons of pig-iron, 8,000,000 tons of coke and 30,000,000 tons of coal. Dr. Fritz Thyssen, son of the late August Thyssen, pioneer and leader in the German coal and iron industry, is Chairman of the Board of Directors. The merger is financed by Dillon, Read & Co. of New York.

Two hundred thousand Communists from all parts of Germany held a two-day celebration in Berlin during the week of May 24. For five hours they marched past a reviewing stand and maintained perfect military discipline; there were no disorders. At the same time in Dusseldorf 100,00 reactionary members of the Stahlhelm (Steel Helmet) met in a similar manifestation of political and military strength.

Senatorial disclosures in the Prussian Landtag committee investigating the alleged Feme murder organization, which was said to exist in the Black Reichswehr, caused the District Attorney on May 20 to ask that immunity from arrest be lifted in the cases of the Prussian Diet Deputy Wulle and Reichstag Deputy Kube, both members of the ultra-reactionary Voelkische Party. Among the disclosures that were made was that of a plot to kill the Prussian Minister of Interior, Dr. Severing, a Socialist, whose presence was considered a hindrance to the Voelkische cause.

The Reichstag on May 11 rejected a local option bill by 241 to 163. The Socialists and Communists gave the bill their solid party support, and in the ranks of the conservatives and reactionaries a few scattered votes aided the prohibitionists. Nearly 100 deputies withheld their votes. The Bavarian Voelkische and People's Party were solid against local option. The prohibition ranks, however, were not discouraged by the defeat of the measure, and on May 21 delivered to the Reichstag two truckloads of immense volumes filled with signatures of Germans desiring local option, and even total abstinence. At dry headquarters it was admitted that the mass of signatures, totalling 2,000,000 or more, could be interpreted as a hint that if a local option law was not given consideration by the

Reichstag the prohibitionists would resort to a popular referendum.

Professors of history in Prussian universities, claiming to represent an overwhelming majority of German history teachers, sent a round-robin to the Prussian Minister of Education formally protesting against his proposed alterations in high school historical instruction. The plans included the reduction of the space in school books devoted to glorifying the deeds of former German princes and generals, the curtailment of descriptions of battles to a minimum, and the emphasizing of republican and pacific ideals. Instead of making heroes of kings and warriors, the new project was designed to glorify the peacetime achievements of statesmen, scientists and scholars. Against this so-called affront to the traditions of history teaching, the professors raised a cry of alarm, insisting that the patriotism of German childhood must be promoted through a thorough knowledge of the nation's royal and warlike past.

According to a recent dispatch, the old Hanseatic City of Luebeck has ousted its Mayor, Dr. Neumann, who was accused of conspiring with the Nationalists to restore the German Monarchy. Dr. Neumann received two votes of lack of confidence from the Luebeck Senate, which, according to the laws of the town, made his deposition effective.

Austria

RECENT reports indicated that Austria was making every effort to increase her trade with Russia. According to these reports considerable trade had already been done under the auspices of the two Austro-Russian companies which were formed some two or three years ago under Russian concessions, and in which Austrian capital became interested to the extent of about 50 per cent. These two companies were in a position to reopen business relations which had existed before the war between Austrian metallurgical industries and Russian markets. They not only imparted new life to these connections, but were also able to secure orders for other branches of industry. Apart from this, sundry orders were placed direct in Vienna

by the Russian Trade Representation. Austrian exports to Russia for 1925 were estimated at between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 schillings.

In May, 1926, the gold and foreign bills reserve of the National Bank of Austria amounted to \$72,570,000, as against \$50,700,000 in May, 1925. Note circulation totaled \$108,430,000, which was \$1,140,000 less than the total twelve months before. The Government debt to the bank aggregated \$26,143,000, as compared with \$29,710,000 in May, 1925. The bank rate during the year was reduced from 11 per cent. to 7½ per cent.

The rift between Chancellor Ramek and Minister of Education Schneider was widened on May 10 by what was regarded by many as a semi-comic, semi-serious incident connected with the visit of Ameri-

can hotel men to Austria. A part of the entertainment included an opera performance, and between the acts a formal reception was tendered by the Chancellor in the former opera salon of Francis Joseph. During the reception Herr Kosak, an official of the Department of Education, entered the salon wearing ordinary dress and asked the Chancellor why the Minister of Education, who had jurisdiction over the opera, had not been invited. The failure to invite Herr Schneider was construed by his followers as a very serious slight.

Statistics issued in May showed a rise in insanity in Vienna of 15 per cent. over the previous year. A large percentage of the new cases comprised women. Physicians and others ascribed the increase to nerves weakened by the strain of post-war worries and to brooding over past troubles.

[ITALY]

New Fascist Laws to Control Labor

Socialist Press Condemns State Regulation—Mussolini Hails Norge Flight—Friendly Relations With Vatican—Liquor Sale Limited—Internal Fascist Strife

By ELOISE ELLERY

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THE development of the new Fascist labor legislation was the outstanding subject of interest in Italian affairs during the past month. The basic principle of the new laws is the right of the Government to control the entire productive life of the nation. This involves co-operation between labor and capital under State supervision and with compulsory arbitration. A bill for carrying out these principles was passed by the Chamber last December and by the Senate in March. The system was further worked out with some modifications and approved by the Cabinet on May 18. The document explaining the new system contains about 15,000 words and goes into great detail. Its main provisions may be summarized as follows:

Only Fascist organizations are recognized. All anti-Fascist labor unions are

deprived of their powers. All Italian producers will belong to Local unions, of which one will exist for each individual art, craft, trade or profession. Intellectual and manual laborers must belong to separate associations. The local unions are brought together in three national confederations, made up of workers, employers and professional workers, respectively. The workers' and employers' confederations each include associations for industry, agriculture, commerce, banking and transport. That of the professional workers includes associations for artists, artisans and the various professions of medicine, law, journalism, &c., but professors and teachers are to be included in the special State associations. The confederations are restricted to controlling mutual aid, instruction and education. The present Fascist Confederation of Labor Unions

will be retained temporarily in order not to destroy its organization work. An undetermined number of corporations are to be created as instruments of control by the Ministry of Corporations over the association of confederations.

Membership in these new national associations is to be restricted to Italians, male and female, over 21 years of age and of good moral and political conduct from a national viewpoint. Non-Italians are not to be permitted membership, but are to profit by collective labor contracts. Special associations with more restricted liberties are provided for employees of the State administrative service, savings banks, national banks, railways and postal and telegraphic service. These sections of workers are prohibited from belonging to the ordinary unions or confederations.

All labor disputes must be submitted to compulsory arbitration. Special courts for the settlement of labor disputes are to be created, with an entirely new labor code added to other legal codes providing for penalties, appeals, methods of handling jurors, qualifications of jurors and other matters. The Government reserves the absolute right to step in at any time for any purpose "for the protection of national interests." In a proclamation to the Fascisti of Italy on the adoption of the new system Mussolini made the following announcement:

The corporative organization of the State is now an accomplished fact. The Democratic-Liberal State, weak and agnostic, is no more; in its place rises the Fascist State. For the first time in the history of the world a constructive revolution like ours realizes peacefully in the field of production and work incorporation of all the economic and intellectual forces of the nation for their direction toward a common purpose. For the first time a powerful system of great associations is created in which all positions are on the same plane of equality; all recognized and guaranteed in their



CAESAR MUSSOLINI

"I have decided to let the Almighty count for something, provided He becomes an Italian!"

—*Simplicissimus, Munich*

legitimate and conciliable interests by the sovereign State. Today finally the people, working in their various activities and categories, dedicate themselves in the Fascist State consciously and vigorously to their real destiny. The proof is decisive. Our faith is firm. We are certain the system will resist the hard test of experience. Vivified by your spirit, presided over by your discipline, the nation, compact around the Fascist symbol, will constitute an indivisible block of political, economic and moral energy. Black Shirts, raise your flags and celebrate with act, will and fidelity this day, which is one of the most glorious of our revolution.

In political circles the new legislation was viewed as a victory of the nationalist over the syndicalist element. According to the *Popolo di Roma*, "the Fascist law puts in concrete form the final ideal of history, the final type of reorganization." On the other hand, the Fascist labor organizations which were superseded under the new law were silent; while to the Maximalist Socialists the law was anathema. The official organ, *Avanti*, commented as follows:

The State has concentrated everything in itself. This concentration, this abolition of every autonomous form, this terrible monopoly, could not be more complete. The functions of the unions are usurped by it, which becomes definitely a syndicalist corporation. This does not and can not fulfill the ethical principle. There are no ethics without the independence of free election and free will. What Fascism terms freedom in negotiations (between capital and labor) is repealed, as is the freedom of the workers. Nothing remains; no fight, no ethical principle and no possibility of revenge. All is leveled. All is regulated. It was thus that the industrialists, who are among the most enthusiastic supporters of the syndicalist laws, wished it to be.

A budget totaling 16,558,000,000 lire for the fiscal year 1926-1927, with an estimated surplus of 190,000,000 lire was approved by the Chamber on June 3. Finance Minister Volpi announced a surplus of 668,000,000 lire for the first month of the present fiscal year, but gave warning that in spite of this excellent state of finances, there could be no tax reduction at present. Referring to the unfavorable Italian trade balance, Count Volpi appealed to all Italian civilians to give preference to Italian-made goods saying: "To buy things abroad that can be bought in Italy is a crime against the nation."

Besides extending its control over labor, the Government has also taken steps to exercise more supervision over the activities of lawyers and attorneys. A decree which went into effect on May 11 declared that lawyers and attorneys who had carried on public activities in contradiction to the interests of the nation were not to be admitted to the bar and those who were already members were to be expelled. The new oath calls upon the legal candidate to promise "to fulfill professional duties with loyalty, honor and diligence for the superior ends of justice and the superior interests of the nation."

Another measure attempted to check the evils of alcoholism by cutting in half the number of vendors of alcoholic beverages and limiting the hours of sale of alcoholic liquors and the number of cafés and bars. The proportion of vendors was reduced from one in every 500 of the population to one in every 1,000.

In its relations with the Vatican the Fascist Government appeared to have

adopted a conciliatory attitude. For the last year a Government commission has been working on a revision of ecclesiastical legislation, with a view to bringing it up to date and especially to improving the economic condition of priests. The fact that three distinguished prelates took part in the work of the commission was regarded as a sign that the Vatican endorsed the views of the commission. A few months ago, however, the Pope in a letter to Cardinal Gasparri sharply criticized the proposed reforms, thus practically disavowing the participation of the prelates in the commission, and declared that no real reform was possible till the status of the Holy See was formally recognized by the State. An acrimonious controversy between the Fascist and the Catholic newspapers followed and then subsided. On May 14 in the course of a statement on the policy of the Fascist Government in religious matters, Signor Rocco, the Minister of Justice, referred to the Pope's letter, saying that the words of the head of the Catholic Church were always listened to "with the greatest reverence by all Italians," and that when it came to a decision concerning ecclesiastical reform the Government would give the utmost consideration to his recent utterances. Although the policy of the Government, he added, would not be altered, it would remain inspired not by political motives, but by a profound conviction as to the nature of the mission of the Italian State, which intended to remain Catholic. He announced further that as a proof that Catholicism was the State religion, the crucifix would be restored to all places where justice was administered.

A recent appeal of the Fascist Directorate to members of the party to try to live and work in amity seemed to give support to the persistent rumors of dissensions. This appeared to have grown out of the differences between Signor Farinacci, the former Secretary General of the party, and Signor Federzoni, the Minister of the Interior. The present Secretary General Signor Turati, works more harmoniously with Signor Federzoni, but the followers of Signor Farinacci resent his retirement and are constantly at odds with the sympathizers of Signor Turati.

Signor Toscanini, the conductor of the Scala Theatre at Milan, withdrew before the end of the season, ostensibly on the ground of ill health. The real reason, however, was stated to be friction between him and Mussolini owing to his refusal to let the orchestra play the Fascist hymn, "Giovanezza" during the performances of April 21, now observed as Labor, Colonial and Empire Day. "I refuse to turn the Scala into a market place for Fascist demonstrations," Toscanini was reported to have declared.

Referring to the exploit of the Norge in flying over the Pole and especially to the Italian members of the crew, Mussolini declared that they had "added another glory to the Italian Air Force and the

Italian flag. The result of the flight proves the excellence of the dirigible, which was conceived, designed and constructed entirely by an Italian air force."

A celebration at Genoa on May 23-24 of the eleventh anniversary of Italy's entrance into the World War took the form of a glorification of the work of Italy's sailors. Italy needs her seafaring folk, Mussolini told the sailors' congress on this occasion, "in order to fulfill her determined ambition to become a great nation. She will safeguard their legitimate interests and rights provided they maintain the order and the discipline required by the ideas of Fascism." In connection with this celebration official figures were published according to which Italy holds second place in the world for shipbuilding.

[EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS]

Hungarian Banknote Forgers Convicted

Rumanian Government's Electoral Victory—Continuance of the Greek Dictatorship—Fascist Movement in Czechoslovakia—Bulgaria's Demand for Outlet to the Sea

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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THE outstanding event of the month in Hungary was the sensational trial of the twenty-four persons accused of having some part in the counterfeiting of French banknotes, culminating in the conviction of Prince Louis Windisch-Graetz, former Chief of Police Nadossy and all but two of the other conspirators. For months the counterfeiting affair had kept the political situation in the distraught "kingless kingdom" at white heat; and, on account of Czechoslovak demands for an international intervention, and the successful demand of France to be allowed to take a leading part in the investigation, the whole diplomatic situation in Central Europe was almost equally affected. The majority report of a Parliamentary investigating commission exculpated Premier Bethlen and his colleagues of complicity in the extraordinary project, and the minority report failed to make out a case against them.

The efforts of the opposition parties, especially the Legitimists, to pin some responsibility on the Government was, however, unrelenting, and even yet has by no means been abandoned.

The trial opened on May 8. Both Windisch-Graetz and Nadossy, and indeed all the accused, freely admitted their varying rôles in the affair, basing their defense entirely on the contention that they had been actuated only by "patriotic motives," which apparently involved revenge upon France for her part in forcing the Trianon peace upon Hungary. Examination of the defendants consumed five days, after which evidence was given by witnesses, including two ex-Premiers, several Bishops and many members of the present Government and of the nobility. The stormiest features of this portion of the proceedings arose out of sharply contradictory testimony centering around the question of Premier Beth-

len's knowledge of and acquiescence in the counterfeiting scheme. Indeed, the Premier was himself called to the stand and subjected to earnest questioning. His denial of all responsibility was not seriously shaken, although he was led to back up the prisoners' plea that they had acted—mistakenly, the Premier said, but honestly—from patriotic motives.

The State's case was summed up by Attorney General Strache on May 20 in a four-hour speech which was a mixture of one part prosecution and two parts defense of the Government as not being involved. He conceded that none of the prisoners had sordid motives, and based his demand for penalties of imprisonment entirely on the ground that by their misguided patriotism they had done Hungary grave damage abroad. The arguments of the battery of lawyers for the defense were begun on the following day, all the speeches being but variations of the same anthem praising the accused as patriots and heroes.

Judgment was rendered on May 26. Two of the defendants were acquitted; others were sentenced to from two to eighteen months' imprisonment; the technical expert of the Cartographic Institute who made the spurious plates received two years, and the central figures in the case, Windisch-Graetz and Nadossy, were fined 10,000 gold crowns, sentenced to four years' imprisonment and made ineligible to hold any public office for three years. Counsel for the defense immediately served notice of appeal; and the demand that their clients be set at liberty pending a rehearing was granted in all cases except those of the two whose sentences were heaviest, and even they were allowed to return temporarily to their homes. Hungarian sentiment was said to approve this outcome of the case, but in France it was felt that the principal offenders were penalized far too lightly.

Countess Karolyi, wife of Count Karolyi, whose efforts to visit the United States were blocked by Secretary Kellogg, lost one point in her court fight on May 15 when Justice William Hitz in Circuit Court overruled her motion to require the Secretary to set forth in his answer the evidence upon which he based his decision to bar her. The Court, however, ordered Mr. Kellogg to state specifically in which class

or sub-class he placed the Countess. In his answer Mr. Kellogg had merely stated that she was an alien whose presence in this country was inimical to American institutions. This answer did not conform to the rules of pleading in mandamus cases, which it must now do.

Rumania

KING FERDINAND before leaving Bucharest for a twelve-day cruise on the Danube, accompanied by Queen Marie, declared that all reports abroad concerning the insecurity of the throne, unrest and revolutionary tendencies, and the return of former Crown Prince Carol, were wholly false. "The country is completely calm," he said. "The peasants were never better off or more contented. It is a mistake to classify Rumanians as Transylvanians, Bessarabians, Saxons or Magyars. We are all Rumanians united under one flag and striving for one ideal—the good of Rumania."

The first main task of the Averescu Government organized at the end of March was to prepare for and carry out the Parliamentary elections scheduled for May 25. It has been stated as a literal historical fact that no Rumanian Government ever fails to obtain a majority at an election, and interest was keen, both at home and abroad, in seeing whether the rule would continue to hold. The last two elections had been carried out by General Averescu (leader of the People's Party) and by Jon Bratiano (leader of the Liberal Party); neither, when entrusted by the King with holding elections, had more than a dozen Deputies in the expiring Parliament; both secured a majority of two-thirds in the elections they immediately held. Once more, Averescu, with not more than a dozen Deputies in the late Bratiano Parliament, and with no indications of increased popular strength, had been summoned to hold new elections.

The contest ran true to form. Bucharest was lost by a narrow margin, but in the country as a whole the Government candidates polled an absolute majority of 200,000 votes, insuring the election of 280, as compared with 82 elected by the National-Peasant bloc, 15 by the Liberals and

8 by the Anti-Semites. Most of the Government's majority was piled up in the rural districts and in regions where ethnic minorities were strongest. In Transylvania, for example, the Government won seventy-five seats and the opposition parties only one-third as many. The Communist vote was somewhat increased in the cities, and the Anti-Semitic vote was unexpectedly heavy. Unofficial tabulations of the results of the Senate elections, carried on also by direct vote of the people, indicated that the Government's supporters would have 125 out of the 175 seats.

Alleging that five recent articles written by him on the political situation in Rumania were "grossly exaggerated and insulting," the Bucharest authorities on May 25 expelled Clarence Streit, a staff correspondent of *The New York Times*. Mr. Streit had gone to Bucharest bent on personal observation of the electoral campaign, and especially on finding out how much credence was to be placed in the heated charges of the opposition parties that the Government was seeking to win unfairly. He was given no opportunity for defense, being told simply that the order for his expulsion would stand unless he should publish a letter in Rumanian newspapers saying that he had been misinformed when writing the series and should make a public apology. This the correspondent refused to do, and he left the country.

Throughout April and May the lei continued to fall and prices to soar. The situation was eased by Premier Averescu's announcement on May 12 of a ten-year Italian loan of 200,000,000 lire, to be used in stabilizing the currency. But the terms of the loan were hard, and the effects of a panic psychology in the early part of the month were by no means overcome.

It was reported on May 22 that Prince Nicholas of Rumania and Princess Elizabeth of Greece were engaged to be married. Prince Nicholas is the younger brother of Carol and one of the three potential regents who would be called upon to govern should King Ferdinand die before Carol's successor, his infant son Michel, became of age.

Poland

A PART from Marshal Pilsudski's coup d'état, which is dealt with elsewhere in this magazine, the most important developments of the month in Poland were financial. The need of American aid in solving the difficulty was set forth by Foreign Minister Zaleski, when he mentioned among the more important tasks immediately confronting the Government cooperation with Professor Edward W. Kemmerer of Princeton, who was to continue his services as financial adviser to the Polish Government, settlement of the tobacco monopoly question and final conclusion of the deal with the Anaconda and Harriman companies for control of the Polish holdings of the van Giesche concern in Upper Silesia.

Czechoslovakia

AN organization consisting of Czechoslovak legionaries, teachers, leading churches and liberal societies has been formed to combat the rapid growth of the spirit of Fascism in Czechoslovakia. The Government is to be urged to take repressive measures. There are, in reality, two Fascist movements, one among the Czechs and the other among the Slovaks. Nine thousand Slovak Fascists, wearing their official black shirts and coming from Bratislava, Trenczin, Komern and other leading cities of Slovakia, held a congress on May 28 at Hrdonsky Svaty Benedict. They took oath to sacrifice their blood and possessions for Slovak autonomy and the Catholic faith, and declared that they would cooperate with the Czech Fascists, providing the latter would refrain from engaging in activity in Slovakia.

The question of substituting fixed grain duties for the existing sliding scale absorbed much attention and had the effect of accentuating the economic basis of current politics, in reality creating a wholly new alignment of German Agrarians against the united Czech, German and Hungarian liberal parties. It was understood that the Government wanted fixed grain duties in order to use them as a club in negotiations for commercial treaties with the United States, Hungary and other grain-producing countries.

Military expenditures for 1926 are to be reduced by 360,000,000 crowns from the original estimate under the terms of a bill introduced by the Government in the National Assembly. The bill also provides that the annual military expenditures for the next eleven years, beginning with 1927, shall not exceed 1,400,000,000 crowns, or the equivalent of £8,536,585, as compared with £11,800,000 in 1925.

Greece

REVERSING an announcement made after the April election to the effect that, having become President of the country by vote of the people, he would renounce the dictatorial rights assumed early in January, General Theodore Pangalos later declared, and on May 13 reiterated, that he would keep all power in his hands indefinitely. The voters had decreed, he affirmed, that "Theodore must pour out and Theodore must drink." Economy, the Dictator-President further asserted, was his sole concern; and that he meant what he said was indicated not only by his assertion that the country must "live on dry bread" until it got on its feet financially, but by various concrete acts, including the dismissal of the British Naval Mission and the curtailment of the French Military Mission.

General Paraskevopoulos arrived in Athens on May 25 to take up his duties as Premier, although in the existing state of things the powers connected with the office were merely nominal. The new Premier was formerly Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Army under Venizelos.

Bulgaria

IN a paper presented at a session of the Conference on International Problems and Relations held at Briarcliff Lodge at the middle of May Simeon Radeff, the Bulgarian Minister at Washington, argued that the United States should use her good offices in obtaining for Bulgaria an outlet on the Aegean Sea. He proposed that the end should be accomplished by the creation of an international zone, administered directly by the League of Nations, and extending from the Bulgarian border to Dedeagatch, including the port. The obli-

gation of the United States in the matter was deduced from the fact that she was one of the five "Allied and Associated Powers" to which, under the treaty of Neuilly, signed on Nov. 27, 1919, Bulgaria surrendered her Aegean littoral (now Western Thrace), and the further fact that by the subsequent treaty of Lausanne, to which neither the United States nor Bulgaria was a party, the four remaining allied powers disposed of the territory in a manner quite out of keeping with the understood purpose when the earlier treaty was ratified, namely, by turning it over to Greece. It was explained that the four-power offer of a Bulgarian corridor to the Aegean had been rejected at Sofia because the corridor was made to run through Greek territory, which would have been unsatisfactory to Greece and Bulgaria alike.

The Turco-Bulgarian Treaty of Friendship concluded last Autumn was laid before the Sobranie for ratification on May 20. The treaty, which was now first published, gave rise to considerable opposition among the Deputies on account of the sacrifices it imposed on Bulgaria in regard to the liquidation of the property of Bulgarian refugees. M. Laptcheff, therefore, convened the Foreign Affairs Commission of Parliament and urged it to ratify the treaty in order to promote good relations between the two countries. He insisted, in particular, on the desirability of placing Bulgarian goods in the Turkish markets and pointed out that, although the treaty might imply some momentary sacrifices, these would be compensated for in the future. The members of the commission thereupon unanimously decided to approve the treaty. A petition has been addressed to the Sobranie by the Association of Thracian emigrés asking that the treaty be rejected.

Yugoslavia

AN attempt to assassinate Stephen Raditch, Croat Peasant Party leader and Minister of Education, was frustrated at Starapazova on May 24. A young Nationalist, Slavko Milich, was arrested as he was on the point of throwing a bomb at the Minister in the course of a meeting of Raditch partisans.

Economic Improvement in the Soviet Union

The Russian Reaction to the British Strike—Campaign Against Waste and Inefficiency—Trade With America—Negotiations With the Baltic States

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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THE British general strike aroused Soviet Russia. Ardent Communists saw in it the approach of a Bolshevik régime in Great Britain. The labor unions of Leningrad subscribed \$25,000 for the support of the British strikers. Factories voted resolutions of solidarity and encouragement to "English comrades," and individuals were heard to comment: "If the English workers seize power, they will give us help and credits." President Tomski of the Russian Labor Federation issued an appeal from Moscow for every member to contribute a quarter of one day's pay to a strike fund. By May 7 contributions amounted to approximately 500,000 rubles. In spite of business depression and unemployment, many workingmen actually contributed from 50 cents to \$2 "to aid our English comrades in their fight for freedom." When word reached Moscow that the British Labor Council had refused to accept foreign help, Pravda, Communist Party organ in Moscow, commented in an editorial, probably written by Bukharin:

They refuse our help in order, they claim, to prove that the strike is purely economic and devoid of revolutionary aims. Not only our help, but all foreign help whatsoever. But can't they see that the general strike must be political and international? Labor solidarity is one of their strongest trumps.

Although rebuffed by British Labor, the Russian Labor Federation continued to collect subscriptions and held, at the disposal of the British Miners' Union, a fund which was said to amount by May 11 to 3,000,000 gold rubles.

The end of the general strike was a disappointment to the Russian Communists, yet they maintained that the movement had had some good results for the cause of world revolution. *Isvestia*, official organ of the Soviet Government, declared that

at least the British proletariat was now conscious of its own strength. Radek, leading journalist, said: "The British workers henceforth will realize the futility of anything but the political, that is, the revolutionary movement." Zinoviev asserted: "They have been sold and betrayed. In the hands of such leaders, how could the strike succeed? Nevertheless, it has been a vast rehearsal, and the hard task of overthrowing British imperialism has taken a great step forward."

A Moscow despatch of May 17 reported that the last four weeks had witnessed a marked improvement in the internal situation of the Soviet Union. The long lines of persons waiting to buy goods at the Government stores had disappeared. The premium on gold and foreign currency had declined. Notwithstanding the recent pessimistic report by Rudzutak, Commissar of Communications, with regard to rolling-stock, repair shops, and trackage, railroad operations showed an improvement. The average number of freight cars handled per day in April was 24,624, an increase of 53 per cent. over the same period in 1925. Of the 29,530 freight cars idle on April 1, only 8,032 were still idle on May 1. Production reports indicated an increase. Coal production had risen 118 per cent.; metal products and iron ore 117 per cent.; timber 68.8 per cent. It was also stated that Moscow's appearance had changed greatly since the first of April. Fine weather had permitted a building campaign which had reduced unemployment. Furthermore, a large number of the city's unemployed had gone into the country districts where labor was in demand.

According to reports reaching Berlin on May 23, Winter sowings in South Russia and the Northern Caucasus region were in better condition than in May, 1925. Spring sowings, where conditions had been ascer-

tained, were also found above the average. On the other hand, frost had done considerable damage in Northwestern provinces, in the central "black earth" district, and in the region of the Volga. The general outlook for crops in the Soviet Union seemed to be good. Purchases of grain by the Government for Russian urban markets and for export had progressed up to April 1 a little behind the schedule arranged at the beginning of the grain year in July, 1925, but indications were given that the 600,000,000 poods of grain set as the amount needed for export and for urban consumption would have been acquired by the State purchasing agencies about June 1. If the crops of 1926 are good, the Soviet Government therefore may be able to resume the export of grain and to secure more credits abroad. On May 2, Kamenev, head of the Commissariat of Trade, issued an order declaring that the export of grain from Russia must be accelerated and that local officials would be held personally responsible for non-fulfillment of the program. In this connection, it should be mentioned that the Soviet Central Executive Committee reduced the general agricultural tax by 32 per cent. and decided that the poor peasants should be entirely exempt from taxes.

During a recent visit to Leningrad, Stalin, one of the most powerful among the Soviet leaders since the defeat of Zinoviev and Kamenev before the Communist Congress of last December, made a significant address upon conditions in the Soviet Union and the policies of the Government. He said that the country had reached the point where its original capital, whether in funds or factories, would be nearly used up, and that new sources of capital must be found if production was to be carried on. He did not emphasize, however, the necessity of establishing relations that would encourage foreign capital to enter Russia. Rather, he insisted that the Soviet Union must become an industrial country. He said that the way to that goal lay through "Socialistic accumulation." "It is absolutely necessary," he declared, "that the surplus means accumulated in the country should find their way to State and cooperative credit institutions or should be placed in internal loans for

the needs of Soviet industry. In the second place, it is imperative to shut tightly all the little by-paths and crannies through which surplus means are diverted into the pockets of private capitalists to the detriment of Socialist accumulation. For this, it is necessary to regulate our prices policy in such a way as to prevent the disproportion between wholesale and retail prices, for this disproportion constitutes one of the principal menaces to Socialist accumulation and the stability of our currency."

Stalin then proceeded to attack "the criminal squandering of public money by responsible workers * * * the inflated staffs of Government and cooperative institutions * * * the disgraceful bacchanalia of flinging millions of rubles of public money on jubilees and festivals * * * the enormous overhead charges on all business transactions." Communists in particular "were apt to treat the State as a kind of family property"; there was "an orgy of merry robbery"; "such happy-go-lucky robbers could be counted by the thousand"; among the workers, "irregular days off were becoming a scourge; hundreds of thousands of working days were lost in the factories owing to slackness and absenteeism; no real progress or increase of wages was possible unless a ruthless fight were put up for labor discipline and increased output." Stalin closed with an appeal to the workers to increase their activity in every way and to keep close to the peasants, for without them the Socialist organization would collapse. The dominant thought among the workers must be not to exploit but to lead the peasantry:

We are not in favor of every kind of alliance between the workers and peasants, but of a union in which the leading part belongs to the workers. Why? Because unless the leadership in such a union is assigned to the workers, no victory is possible over landowners and capitalists, and those comrades who are opposed to such a leadership are profoundly mistaken. Let but the idea of this principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat over the peasants be shaken, and the union of workers and peasants will fall to pieces, and capitalists and landowners will return to their old haunts.

The Soviet press, led by *Economic Life* and the *Moscow Worker*, pointed out that loafing and absence from work increased

with the abandonment of prohibition and the return last October to the distribution of vodka of pre-war strength, 40 per cent. alcohol. As soon as the Government, it was said, could dispense with the revenue obtained from the manufacture and sale of vodka, it seemed likely that the policy of restricting the liquor traffic would be resumed.

American exports to the Soviet Union in 1925 increased 60 per cent. over those of 1924, and imports from Russia to the United States rose 50 per cent. The Russian-American trade of 1925 was twice as large as the trade of 1913. Raw cotton for Soviet mills accounted for \$44,000,000 of the American exports to Russia in 1925. Industrial and agricultural machinery made up the largest part of the remainder. But developments in the first months of 1926 seemed to indicate that the United

States might soon lose a large portion of its trade with Soviet Russia owing to the reluctance of American concerns to extend long-term credits to the Russian trading agencies, while manufacturers in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy and France were willing to grant credits for periods extending from two to four years.

Simon Petlura, former President of the Ukrainian Republic, was shot to death in Paris on May 25 by Schwarzbart, a Ukrainian Jew, who declared that his act was to revenge the massacres of Jews in the Ukraine under Petlura's régime.

Although no agreement has been reached in the negotiations between France and the Soviet Union over the Czarist debts, the latest reports from Paris were to the effect that the Russians were about to recognize the pre-war debt and to begin payment of interest and principal.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

NEGOTIATIONS between Soviet Russia and the States on the Baltic entered a new phase. The Soviet Government refused to include Poland in the pact with Finland, Estonia and Latvia. This refusal was approved by both Estonia and Latvia, because, according to press reports emanating from Riga on April 28, the Governments of both Latvia and Estonia were "afraid of being drawn within Poland's orbit, and prefer a smaller Baltic union." After a conference between the Latvian Acting Foreign Minister, M. Albat, and the Estonian Foreign Minister, M. Piip, the Latvian and Estonian Governments drafted a joint reply to the suggestions of the Soviet Government for a guarantee pact between Soviet Russia and the Baltic States. The Latvian-Estonian reply was said to request the Soviet Government to make written proposals for the guarantee pact. A month later, after Pilsudski's *coup d'état* in Poland, it was reported from Moscow that the Soviet Government was very uneasy over the turn of events in Eastern Europe and inclined to believe, in spite of official denials from Poland, that Poland was trying to prevent friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Finland, Estonia and Latvia.

As regards the negotiations between

Lithuania and the Soviet Union for a treaty of non-aggression, Professor Reinys, until recently Foreign Minister in the Lithuanian Government, announced on April 22 that, in the draft treaty under discussion, there were no indications whatever of a guarantee by the Soviet Union of Vilna and Memel to Lithuania in return for a refusal by Lithuania to enter a Baltic alliance. Nor was there, he said, anything in the draft treaty to compromise Lithuania's adherence to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The result of the election of a new Lithuanian Parliament on May 8 and 9 showed a decided swing to the Left. The new liberal régime was expected to be friendly toward the Pilsudski Government in Poland, and it was predicted that this would ease the tense border situation between the two countries.

The Latvian Government met defeat in Parliament on April 28 in a vote on the budget. Karl Ulmanis resigned his post as Premier, and a new Cabinet was formed, as follows:

A. ALBERINGS (Peasants' League)—Premier and Minister of War.

K. ULMANIS (Peasants' League)—Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Colonel LAIMINCH (Peasants' League)—Minister of the Interior.

J. BLUMBERGS (Peasants' League)—Minister of Finance.

P. ARONIETS (Democratic Center)—Minister of Communications.

M. GAILITS (Party of the Peasants having received land since the war)—Minister of Agriculture.

E. ZIEMELIS (Party of the Peasants having received land since the war)—Minister of Public Instruction.

M. W. RUBULS (Catholic League of Peasants)—Minister of Social Welfare.

E. BRIKOWSKIS (no party)—Minister of Justice.

The new Ministry was practically a re-constructed Ulmanis Cabinet. It represented all the bourgeois factions in Latvia and was supported by 51 votes in Parliament and could count on an additional 12 votes for partial support only by the Socialists.

A.-B. D.

[OTHER NATIONS OF EUROPE]

Bloodless Revolution in Portugal

Spanish Conspirators Sentenced—Visit of the Swedish Crown Prince to the United States—Fall of Swedish Social-Democratic Cabinet—Five Industries Strike in Norway

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT

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AFTER more than a year of political unrest the Government of Portugal was overthrown on May 29 by a bloodless revolution led by prominent military and naval officers. On June 1, President Bernardino Machado resigned from office, turning over the control of the Government to Commander Mendes Cabecadas, a leader in the overthrow of the Da Silva ministry. A provisional Ministry, according to press dispatches from Lisbon, was formed as follows:

General GOMES DA COSTA—Minister of War, Colonies and Agriculture.

Commander CABECADAS—Minister of Marine, Finance and Justice.

Major OCHOA—Minister of Foreign Affairs, Interior and Commerce.

Major Filomenio Camara was understood to have accepted the post of High Commissioner of Angola.

The purpose of the uprising, according to a proclamation issued by the revolutionary committee, was to set up a more democratic form of government and to save Portugal from professional politicians, who, the proclamation alleged, were ruining the nation. The enthusiasm with

which the movement was received, according to press dispatches, by the people of Portugal, as well as the armed forces of the State, accounted for the absence of bloodshed and rioting. The leaders in the movement, which began in the Eighth Division of the Portuguese Army stationed at Braga in the northern part of the country, were General Gomes da Costa, in command of the division; Commander Mendes Cabecadas, who led the unsuccessful revolt of July, 1925, and Captain Baptista, an artillery officer.

The political situation in Portugal became critical on May 18, when the police were called upon to disperse large gatherings of opposing factions, which were assembled before the Chamber of Deputies in Lisbon. A heated debate in the Chamber on the tobacco monopoly, regarding which the Government had been accused of unconstitutional and dictatorial procedure; ended in a decision to prolong the legislative session until June 15, in order to allow time for the estimates to be passed and the vexed question of the Government's monopoly of manufactured tobacco.

cos, which had expired on April 30, to be finally settled. The crowds outside the Chamber demonstrated for and against a continuance of the monopoly.

During the following week rumors of a revolt were common and in Lisbon police and troops suspected of disaffection were confined to their barracks. Little excitement was displayed by the citizens of Lisbon, however, until on the night of May 26 some of the telegraph and telephone wires outside of Lisbon were cut and it was learned that the troops of the Eighth Division had revolted. A rigid censorship of the press was enforced by the Government on May 27, and on the day following all newspapers in Lisbon were temporarily suppressed. Cavalry patrolled the streets, and General Peres, with a force of loyal troops from Oporto, was ordered to attack the insurrectionists at Braga. On May 28 the troops in Lisbon, the naval school on the left bank of the Tagus, and the infantry school outside the city notified President Machado of their intention to support the revolutionary forces, and after a conference with the Prime Minister, Antonio Maria da Silva, and the Minister of War, the Cabinet met. At 11 P. M. a statement was given to the press declaring that the Government had resigned.

President Machado immediately called upon Commander Cabecadas, who, at the request of the Chief Executive, agreed to assume responsibility for the government of the country until a new extra-parliamentary Government could be formed. It was understood that in the new Ministry Commander Cabecadas would hold the post of Minister of Marine, and that the remaining Ministers would be chosen from officers of the army and nonpartisan civilians, in order to conciliate all army factions, whose representatives had been summoned to Lisbon. On June 3, a compromise Government was formed, as follows:

Commander CABECADAS—Premier and Minister of the Interior.

General GOMES DA COSTA—Minister of War and Colonies.

General CARMONA—Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. MENDES DOS REMEDIOS—Minister of Instruction.

Dr. ALMEIDA RIVEIRO—Minister of Justice.

Commander JAIME AFREIXO—Minister of Marine.

Dr. OLIVEIRA SALAZER—Minister of Finance.

Senhor EZEQUIEL DE CAMPOS—Minister of Agriculture and Commerce.

Three days later General da Costa took possession of Lisbon with his army, and was enthusiastically received by the populace. He announced that a governing council would rule the country until new elections had been held.

Spain

THE court-martial which sat upon the case of eight persons accused of conspiracy to blow up the royal train in a tunnel near Garraf last year delivered its verdict on Sunday, May 2. Three of the prisoners were condemned to life imprisonment, three received sentences of twelve years in jail, and two were acquitted. The reason for the long delay in the hearing of the case was said to be the fact that an appeal was made for a civil trial, but the Supreme Court at Madrid decided that the military court was competent. The trial, which took place in Barcelona, was public and the press published full accounts of the proceedings. Interest in the fate of the accused was intense throughout Catalonia, since the prosecution alleged that the conspirators were members of a society of separatists working for the independence of that province. Much unfavorable comment in the Catalan journals followed the decision.

Further reverberations of the storm which raged in the Spanish universities over the appointment of a successor to the chair occupied by Dr. Miguel de Unamuno in the University of Salamanca continued to be heard during the month. The oldest Spanish newspaper, *La Epoca*, was suspended and fined 25,000 pesetas because it took part editorially in the protest. Professors who supported the Government's candidate for the chair were howled down in lectures by the students.

Denmark

THE Danish Minister of Finance, M. Bramsnaes, on March 17 informed the Finance Committee that a fall in the half-yearly price index, together with certain amendments made in the Rigsdag, would necessitate changes in the budget for the

financial year 1926-27. The budget as originally approved showed a net surplus of 500,000 kroner. A saving of 23,000,000 kroner on the current account due to the fall in the price index, M. Bramsnaes declared, would be more than offset by a reduction in the revenues from taxes and duties by 22,000,000 kroner. A reduction in postal charges was expected to reduce the postal revenues by 4,000,000 kroner, leaving the estimated surplus on the current account at 9,000,000 kroner. Unless the budget were amended, this would result in a net deficit of 2,400,000 kroner.

The conversion of the United States loan, which was originally \$25,000,000 and was booked at 149,000,000 kroner, was effected by raising at a much lower interest a loan of \$30,000,000 booked at 111,000,000 kroner, the net saving to Denmark, after allowing for the costs of the conversion, amounting to about 35,000,000 kroner. The State debt was reduced during the year by about 40,000,000 kroner.

Emigration from Denmark, according to figures compiled by the Government, decreased from 7,601 in 1923 and 6,319 in 1924 to 4,578 in 1925.

Lieutenant Botved, the Danish aviator who took off from Copenhagen early in the Spring, completed his long flight to Tokio, arriving there on June 1.

Sweden

CROWN Prince Gustavus Adolphus and Crown Princess Louise, heirs to the throne of Sweden, arrived in New York on May 27. An elaborate reception, prepared under the direction of the State Department, welcomed the first members of a royal family to visit the United States since 1919, when the King and Queen of the Belgians were guests of the nation. Prince Gustavus and Princess Louise proceeded to Washington immediately after their arrival, where they spent four days sightseeing and attending entertainments given in their honor. On May 29 the Prince and Princess took part in the unveiling of a memorial to John Ericsson, a native of Sweden, designer and builder of the iron war vessel *Monitor*. Swedish organizations from many sections of the country, especially the Middle West and Northwest, attended the

unveiling and dedication and heard the Prince deliver to President Coolidge and the people of the United States a message of friendship and good-will from his father, King Gustav V of Sweden.

During May the Swedish Social-Democratic Government fell on the unemployment issue. The King then invited Carl Ekman, leader of the Popular Party, to form a new Cabinet. The new Government was committed to prohibition, but could not hope to carry such a measure without aid from other groups. The members of the Ekman Cabinet, announced on June 6, are as follows:

C. G. EKMÁN—Premier and Minister of Finance.

ERICH LOEFGREN—Foreign Minister.

J. C. W. THYREN—Minister of Justice.

Senator ROSEN—Minister of Defense.

Mayor JACOB PETTERSON—Minister of Social Affairs.

M. ZEURLING—Minister of Communications.

Senator ALMKVIST—Minister of Education.

Senator HELLSTROM—Minister of Agriculture.

Deputy FELIX HAMRIN—Minister of Commerce.

Norway

LABOR troubles in Norway occupied the attention of the Government and the people during the month. On April 24 between 25,000 and 30,000 men employed in the iron, mining, construction, textile and footwear industries went on strike. The conflict resulted when the employers gave notice that they would terminate the wage agreements of last year when these expired on April 1, and would insist upon a wage reduction of about 25 per cent. during the present year, together with some curtailment of the workers' holidays and a revision of the agreements regarding payment for overtime.

When direct negotiations between the parties to the dispute had no result, the public arbitrator intervened and endeavored to mediate, at the same time exercising his statutory right to forbid cessation of work while mediation was being attempted. After prolonged study of the problem, an arbitral council composed of the public arbitrator and two prominent lawyers proposed on April 16 an agree-

ment on a wage reduction of about 17 per cent., with a further revision of the wage scale in September in case the price index should have varied more than ten points in the meantime, the revision at that time to increase or diminish the wages proportionally. On April 23 the employers accepted this proposal, but on the following day it was rejected by the vote of a large majority of the workmen. The strike immediately went into effect.

The Norwegian Storting has passed a bill concerning a new referendum to be held on the question of prohibition of spirits in Norway. The first plebiscite took place in 1919, and the new one will be held on Oct. 18, 1926. The Constitution of Norway does not provide for the question being settled by referendum, wherefore the vote now to be taken must be regarded only as an advisory one. The final decision of the matter will still lie with the Storting, but it is probable that the latter will be guided by the results of the vote, so that the prohibition of spirits will be repealed if a majority of the voters are against it.

Switzerland

AFTER being twice interrupted, the economic and commercial negotiations between Switzerland and Czechoslovakia were resumed at Prague early in May. The Swiss delegation which had just returned from Berlin, where a treaty of commerce was discussed, received new instructions from the Federal Council before proceeding to Prague. The chief subject for agreement was the obtaining for Swiss products of lower entrance duties into Czechoslovakia. The Swiss objected that these duties were unreasonably high and stated that during the past year Switzerland had bought from her Balkan neighbor nearly three times as much goods as she had sold to her. The concessions asked for by Switzerland particularly concerned the duties on machinery, textiles, chocolate and watches.

A vote on the continuance of the Government monopoly of wheat showed 148 members of the Federal Council in favor of the monopoly against 37 opposing it, with 8 members absent and 4 not voting.

[TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST]

Turco-British Settlement of Mosul Dispute

Death of Ex-Sultan Mohammed VI—Zaghlul Pasha's Electoral Victory in Egypt—Syrian Peace Agreement—Damascus Again Bombarded—Palestine's Business Depression—Improved Persian Finances

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

Professor of History, University of Illinois

MOHAMMED VI, who was Sultan of Turkey from July, 1918, to November, 1922, died on May 16 at San Remo. He was son of Sultan Abdul Mejid and brother of Sultans Abdul Hamid II and Mohammed V. During the reign of Abdul Hamid II he lived in retirement, out of all contact with the world and affairs.

More than sixty years of age when he became Sultan, he failed to distinguish himself by any active policy. At the time of his accession, the military power of Turkey was practically exhausted by four

years of the great war, and surrender took place within four months. Mohammed endeavored in a feeble way to avert the vengeance of the victors. He claimed never to have sympathized with the entrance of Turkey into the war against the Entente Allies, and he showed himself subservient to the occupying forces. In 1920 he consented to the signature of the Treaty of Sèvres, which dismembered Turkey and proposed to put her principal governmental departments under foreign control. The formation of the Angora Government under

Mustapha Kemal Pasha reduced Mohammed's authority to the immediate neighborhood of Constantinople, and even there it was only nominal.

After the defeat of the Greeks in the Fall of 1922 and the armistice of Mudania, agents of the Angora Government entered Constantinople and produced such apprehension in the mind of the Sultan that he was glad of an opportunity to take refuge on a British warship. He was conveyed to Malta, and later went to France and Switzerland. Reports first had it that Mohammed VI took with him a large quantity of crown jewels and other treasures, but this appears not to have been the case, and he spent his last years in comparative poverty. While he lived he hoped to regain his position as Sultan and Caliph. In the latter connection he prepared and forwarded only a few days before his death a memorandum to the Caliphate Congress at Cairo, in which he claimed that the title of Caliph still belonged to him and ought to be reaffirmed by the Islamic world.

Although no official announcement was made of an agreement between the British and Turkish Governments on the Mosul question before the end of May, it was stated that all essential points had been settled. The agreement is said to have involved the setting up of a mixed commission to demarcate the frontier and the negotiating of a treaty of amity and commerce between Turkey and Iraq. Rumor had it also that Turkey was to be assigned a percentage of the oil royalties in the lost province.

An Italian journal announced that discussions were under way looking to the opening up of oil wells in that small part of the province of Mosul which remains to Turkey and in the adjacent regions.

The Swiss Republic has sent Henri Martin, who has visited the United States in various capacities, to Angora to negotiate a treaty of commerce and a treaty of "establishment," the latter referring to the rights of the citizens of each country upon the territory of the other.

The fast of the month of Ramazan was lately observed in Turkey with some modifications. Before 1922 the Sultan was accustomed to issue a special decree announcing the opening of the fast and enjoining

its observance, on penalty of fine and imprisonment. This year the authorities abstained from any interference with the people as regards the fast. For example, the students at the College of Galata-Serai were allowed their own option as regards fasting. It appears that 50 out of 700 observed the fast. A large section of the Moslem population, however, abstained from food and drink during the day. At sunset they ate their *iftar* (break-fast). In the evening crowds visited the moving picture shows, and some Turkish men and women even danced in the ballrooms of the hotels. During the daytime shops and public offices were kept open as usual. Even the beginning of the fast was determined, not by the direct observation of the new moon, but by an announcement from an observatory.

A new Kurdish revolt was reported at the end of May in the neighborhood of Diarbekir.

The new Turkish civil code, which goes into effect Sept. 1, makes civil marriages obligatory. A religious ceremony may follow, if it is desired. The legal marriage age under the new law is 17 for women and 18 for men.

Egypt

AS had been predicted, the elections to Parliament went overwhelmingly in favor of the Wafd party of Zaghlul Pasha. The allied groups of the opposition obtained a moderate number of votes, and the representation of the Government Party was reduced to a very low point. Following upon Zaghlul's failure to reach an agreement with Adly Pasha, leader of the Liberal Party, for the formation of a coalition government, Zaghlul announced his intention to constitute a Cabinet under his own head. This decision led to a political crisis, in view of the opposition of the British authorities to Zaghlul's return to power. Lord Lloyd, the new High Commissioner, had a long interview with Zaghlul, and after communicating with London, another interview with King Fuad. It is apparently after learning the contents of the British note that Zaghlul and his party gave up the intention of forming a government of their own, and Zaghlul declared

his willingness to support a Cabinet headed by Adly. On the request of the King, and with the advice of Zaghlul, Adly Pasha formed a new Ministry, which was announced on June 6, and which was constituted as follows:

ADLY PASHA—Premier and Minister of Interior.
ABD-EL KHALEK SARVAT PASHA—Foreign Minister.

MORCOS HANNA PASHA—Minister of Finance.
ZAKE PASHA ABD-EL SEOD—Minister of Justice.

KAMEL BEY KHASABA—Minister of War.
MOHAMMED PASHA MAHMOUD—Minister of Communications.

NEGUIB PASHA GHARABLI—Minister of Pious Foundations.

FATHALLA BARAKAT PASHA—Minister of Agriculture.

OSMAN MOHARAM PASHA—Minister of Public Works.

At the end of April the Court of Appeals affirmed the decision of the Mixed Court, according to which the Egyptian Government must continue to pay the "tribute," with 5 per cent. interest on delayed instalments.

The Cairo Mixed Court in May ordered Zaghlul to pay \$55,000 to Mrs. Joseph W. Folk, widow of the late Governor of Missouri. Zaghlul Pasha contracted in 1919 with Mr. Folk for propaganda in the United States in favor of Egyptian independence. By the time of Mr. Folk's death in 1923, he had received only \$5,000, and Mrs. Folk sued for \$602,924.

The Caliphate Congress assembled at the Mosque El Azhar on May 15. The questions before the assembly included these: What are the true and orthodox qualifications of a Caliph? Shall a Caliph be recognized or elected? What persons are eligible, and who shall be chosen? The congress was unable to agree upon a candidate.

The Egyptian cotton crop of the present season is estimated at 800,000,000 lb., which is the maximum production reached until this time. The price has fallen 40 per cent. since the beginning of the season, to about 30 cents per pound, in spite of attempts on the part of the Egyptian Government to bolster the price by considerable purchasing. Naturally, the country is suffering from a trade depression. The condition can scarcely become serious in view

of the very large favorable trade balance of the past fifteen years. The total trade of the Sudan in 1925 was about \$50,000,000, showing an increase of about 5 per cent. over the previous year. In spite of a marked increase in exports, the balance is still against the Sudan to the extent of about \$6,500,000.

Syria

THE capture of Suedia by the French was followed by a series of vigorous measures aimed at the conclusion of a peace settlement. M. de Jouvenel, the French High Commissioner, announced the appointment of a head of the Syrian State, to hold his place temporarily until a regularly elected Parliament might choose his successor. A surprising element in the situation was that the new official, Damad Ahmed Namy Bey, was a Turk and a son-in-law of the former Sultan, Abdul Hamid II. Apparently, the selection of a Turk as head of the Syrian State was made to avoid the opposition which would inevitably arise against any Arabic-speaking Syrian, who must perforce belong to one of the several rival groups. The Syrians have been accustomed during most of the last thousand years to the overlordship of a Turk. The appointment was expected to please the Turkish neighbors to the north, but not too well, because of Namy Bey's connection with the exiled imperial house.

Negotiations were opened at once through Namy Bey with the leaders of the Druses and revolted Syrians. These two groups continued to make demands which the French regarded as excessive. Namy Bey, however, proclaimed, presumably with the consent of the French authorities, a basis of negotiations which proposed a political organization similar in many respects to that of Iraq. A thirty-year treaty would regulate the relationship between France and Syria; Syria would possess unity with free access to the sea from every part, and a liberal Constitution would be devised and proclaimed. M. de Jouvenel was so hopeful of successful results from the new plan that he prepared to carry it to the Government in Paris.

Hostilities did not cease during the discussion of the new plan. On May 7 a new

bombardment of part of the city of Damascus took place, the particulars of which were differently stated according as they came from French or other sources. The French stated that the bombardment resulted from the occupation of a portion of the city by bandits, and that ample notice was given, so that the non-combatant population withdrew and suffered no injury. The contrary statement asserted that the French notice allowed practically no time for escape and that large numbers of women and children were killed. The extent of the damage was also seriously disputed.

The reorganization of the Greater Lebanon into the Lebanese Republic proceeded at the end of May to the election by the National Assembly of Charles Debbas, an Arab, as first President.

Palestine

LACK of capital and the inexperience of the people were said to be the causes of the business depression from which Palestine was suffering. The difficulty of passing the customs lines between Syria and Palestine was apparently another cause of decline. The population of the city of Tel-Aviv continued to increase, having reached, it was estimated, 40,000. A real estate boom and its collapse had the usual results. A large loan was being sought to be spent upon railways, harbors, telegraph lines and the like. Marked progress has taken place in the last few years in the direction of better houses, good roads and extension of cultivation.

Christian and Moslem Arabs met in Jerusalem during April and decided that the fez has no religious significance and should be replaced by the European hat.

Iraq

THE inundations of April at Bagdad caused much damage to the accumulation of tea, sugar and other wares for the Persian trade. There was little loss of life, but serious damage to the grain crops. The railroad, the barracks, the palace and other Government buildings suffered for many weeks from the effects of the flood.

The plan according to which the Turkish Petroleum Company was to convey a quar-

ter interest of its rights to the Standard Oil Company appeared to have been carried through at last. Announcement was made that ninety expert American drillers had been engaged, and that ten test wells were to be put down promptly, and that the drilling plant for these was on its way to Iraq.

Trade conditions were a little more hopeful, although the shortage of rain during 1925, following an extraordinarily severe Winter, and the tariff restrictions of the Persian Government upon sugar and other commodities, together with the decline in the price of cotton, all caused serious injury to the business of the country. This year's rainfall so far was greater than normal, and there was hope that the Persian Government would consent to modifications of the tariff.

Late in May 2,000 Bedouin tribesmen were reported to have crossed from the French zone into Western Iraq in order to attack 500 tribesmen who are under British protection. British armored cars went to the rescue and drove out the invaders with serious losses.

Persia

THE thirteenth quarterly report of Dr. A. G. Millspaugh, the Administrator General of the Finances of Persia, dealt with the three months from Sept. 23 to Dec. 21, 1925. Extraordinary efforts were made by the alimentation service to supply grain for food and planting. Serious difficulties arose through the delay in the execution of the purchase from Russia of 720,000 poods of wheat. To make up for this a stock purchased in India was brought in, with the necessity of using double the amount of transport. The Russian delay caused a direct loss of about \$360,000. On the whole more than four times the quantity of transport was required than in the previous year. Practically all the animals in the country were brought into service. About two hundred new motor trucks were in service, and as many more were in transit.

The alimentation service was required by the Government to provide wheat at less than cost, and the total loss for the year amounted to about \$1,800,000. This was

not charged against the ordinary budget, but would have to be provided for in the future. Aside from this the revenues showed a surplus for the Persian year 1303 of about \$300,000. An increase of expenditures was expected for 1926 on account of expenses connected with the change of dynasty. The Ministers furthermore requested increased credits, since the presence of a surplus gave reason to believe that they might enlarge their activities.

The Parliament passed a law authorizing a survey, which was expected to establish the land tax on a uniform and modern basis. The Parliament declined to pass

projects for taxes on income, rentals, commercial documents and sales.

"In general," the report also said, "the revenues of the country are steadily increasing. Part of the increase is due to the improvement in world trade conditions, as in the case of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company royalties; part to increased commercial activity, as in the case of the customs receipts; part to legislation, as in the case of the tobacco and sugar monopoly revenues; and, last but not least, part to the improvement in the methods of collection and the ever strengthening control of the finances over revenue sources."

[THE FAR EAST]

China Without a Recognized Government

*Doubtful Status of the New Cabinet—Chang Opposes Soviet Influence—
Problem of Foreign Intervention—Shanghai Police Exonerated—Tendency
Toward New Anglo-Japanese Rapprochement*

By QUINCY WRIGHT

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CONDITIONS in China have remained inchoate but ominous since last writing. With the advance of Fengtien and Shantung troops to the environs of Peking there occurred serious looting and maltreatment of civilians, among whom the soldiers were billeted. Shortage of food contributed to the trouble. Through the efforts of the Peking Security Committee and the execution of several looters by order of the victorious General Wu Pei-fu, conditions apparently improved, but further fighting about Peking was not improbable. Feng Yu-hsiang's Kuo Minchun army was reported to be headed for Mongolia, but reports of May 31 indicated that at Changpingchow, south of the Great Wall and only twelve miles northwest of Peking, it made a successful stand against Chang Tso-lin's army, which had suffered from mutiny and was not assisted by Wu's forces.

After the withdrawal of the Kuo Minchun forces from Peking on April 15 there was no recognized government of China.

Dr. W. W. Yen's Cabinet of 1924 was theoretically re-established with some changes, as follows:

W. W. YEN—Prime Minister.

ALFRED SZE—Foreign Minister.

V. K. WELLINGTON KOO—Finance.

YANG WEN-KAI—Commerce.

CHENG CHIEN—Interior.

CHENG CHING-HUAI—War.

WANG CHING-JUEI—Education.

CHANG KUO-KAN—Justice.

CHANG CHI-TANG—Communications.

As Dr. Yen was the only member of the Cabinet in Peking, he conducted affairs of the Government as a sort of dictator, pending agreement between the two victorious Generals, Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-lin. But as these Generals were at war with each other as recently as the Fall of 1924, it was not surprising that such agreement was difficult to attain, and that rumors of a breach were current. Wu, it appeared, wished to set up a government by constitutional process, but this was difficult in view of the fact that the only Parliament had been several times dis-

solved and the terms of its members had long expired, that the only elected President, Tsao Kun, achieved his position by bribery and that actual control of government had, in fact, long been in the hands of the war lord who happened to be in control of Peking. On May 27 it was reported that a meeting of Wu and Chang in Peking or Tien-tsin was planned and it was possible that a compromise government of supporters of each would soon be set up.

During the interregnum most of the Chinese members of the customs conference left Peking, and it seemed probable that that body would soon adjourn, though draft conventions embodying agreements so far reached were to be drawn up. The

American representative, Silas Strawn of Chicago, was said to be preparing to return to America.

The members of the Extraterritoriality Commission have been investigating judicial administration in Central China. In view of opposition of the Canton Government to all extraterritorial rights, it appeared unlikely that the commission would visit Southern China. It was probable that, instead of making a joint report, the members of the commission would report individually to their Governments.

In the meantime General Wu extended his power to the South. Hankow forces under him advanced through Hunan Province on May 27 and attacked the Cantonese along the Kwantung border. On June 4 Wu Pei-fu summarily dismissed General Chin Yun-ao, Civil Governor of Honan. It was rumored that Chin planned to betray Wu, and that his dismissal prevented a coup d'état, and thus strengthened the power of Wu Pei-fu and his ally, Chang Tso-lin. They were expected to launch vigorous operations against the National armies.

Opposition to Bolshevism appeared to be the main link binding Wu and Chang. This was manifested by their united drive against Feng and by Wu's drive against Canton, both controlled by the Kuo Min-tang Party, half of which at least is in close relations with Moscow. Anti-Sovietism was also manifested in the correspondence of Marshal Chang with the Soviet Consul General at Mukden, published on April 22. In a note of March 24 Chang accused Karakhan, the Soviet Ambassador at Peking, of instigating student troubles and supporting Feng with arms, thus prolonging civil war in China. This interference in domestic affairs, Chang contended, was contrary to the functions of an Ambassador, to international law and to the Soviet-Mukden agreement. Consequently Chang refused to recognize Karakhan, requested his withdrawal and said that if he remained in Peking when the allied armies entered the city he would not be accorded the protection due to a diplomatic officer. *Izvestia*, the Soviet organ in Moscow, accused Great Britain of instigating these demands, declaring that that nation had promised



Map of Eastern China

Chang a large loan in return for a breach with the Soviets. *Izvestia* also warned Japan that trouble between China and Russia would not be to her advantage. A deputation of thirty-two members of the Kuo Mintang Party was reported to be en route to Moscow via Mongolia.

The present situation appeared to inspire renewed consideration of the fundamental policy of the powers toward China. Though officially all were bound to maintain the open door and territorial integrity and administrative entity of China, as set forth in the Hay notes of 1899 and 1900 and numerous subsequent agreements, including the Washington treaties, yet there appeared to be influences that would prefer to conduct direct negotiations with local authorities, to refuse recognition of any central government, and thus to progress toward spheres of interest and a division of China. The protracted boycott against Hong Kong, with its serious consequences for British trade, and the inability of Peking to remedy the situation because of its failure to control Canton, was one reason for this tendency. So far, however, the British authorities at Hong Kong had not dealt officially with the Kwantung civil government nominally controlling Canton, with the military government, or with the strikers and picketers who actually were in power. Nevertheless, they viewed with interest Wu's advance to the South, especially on account of the increased activity of the strikers during May. On May 14 it was reported that Mrs. W. T. Cary, wife of the head of Cary & Co., an American firm of Canton, and an employee named Shaw had been arrested by the strikers for smuggling Chinese into Hong Kong. They were released, however, on the intervention of the American Consul. Many merchants, accused of violating strike rulings, were said to be held captive.

The strikers, who were organized and drilled, maintained rudimentary courts and in fact constituted a government, utilizing suggestions, made to them by Berodin, the Soviet representative. Though the civil



Map of Manchuria

government of Canton, controlled by Chinese merchants, was not under Soviet influence, it appeared to wink at the strike and the boycott of Hong Kong because of the commercial advantages thereby brought to Canton and Kwantung Province. Hong Kong, an island seventy miles from Canton, is a British colony acquired after the opium war of 1842. Until recently it dominated the trade of Southern China, but, according to one observer, "all Canton and behind Canton much of China is proud of the fact that it has proved Hong Kong's dependence and is resolved that in the future it will be the Chinese hinterland that dictates to the British Crown colony and not the other way." As a result of rising nationalism some Chinese doubtless looked to the recovery of Hong Kong and other ceded Chinese territories, as well as the removal of foreign leased territories, extraterritoriality and foreign settlements. Such ambitions, which Chinese nationalists justified by citing the rectification of historic wrongs and the recognition of national frontiers in Europe, were vigorously resisted by foreign interests, who argued for vested rights and economic expediency. The British, it is worth mentioning in this connection, recently published a report

showing that the Shameen incident of June 23, 1925, which led to the boycott, was begun by Chinese students under Bolshevik influence.

It was reported on May 27 that Wu Peifu's forces at Tientsin had taken over the salt administration contrary to the treaties. This would affect the service of the Anglo-French loan of 1908, the Hukuang Railway, the Crisp gold loans and the eventual security of the reorganization loan of 1913, the service of which, however, was to come directly from customs. Great Britain, which appeared to sympathize with Wu, was said to have acquiesced in this move.

It was anticipated that May 30, the anniversary of the shootings in the Shanghai foreign settlement, might be the occasion for nationalist demonstrations. To avert trouble the Shanghai ratepayers recommended on April 14 that three places be given on the Shanghai Council to Chinese. The Chinese General Chamber of Commerce on the same day suggested that Chinese be represented on the council in proportion to the amount of rates paid, which would give them over three-fourths of the membership. Neither of these suggestions was adopted, but the news disclosed little disturbance on the 30th. Thirty foreigners were injured, one Chinese was shot and five radical agitators were imprisoned. Few of the foreigners were hurt seriously, and most of the casualties resulted from stones thrown at automobiles and street cars.

The report of Justice E. Finley Johnson of the Philippine Supreme Court, and one of the members of the commission of inquiry into the Shanghai disturbances of a year ago, has just been published. The British and Japanese members of the commission dealt only with the immediate causes of the shooting and exonerated the Shanghai police. The British Commissioner found that "Inspector Everson was justified in coming to the conclusion that, if the crowd had not been fired upon, the lives of the police under his command would have been sacrificed, and the crowd would have gained possession of Louza Police Station, with results that might have been most serious in view of the quantities of arms and ammunition stored there." The Japanese Commissioner found that

"Inspector Everson's order to fire was justifiable inasmuch as it may be considered to have been necessary in order to protect Louza Station and thereby avert serious danger to lives and property." With some qualification Justice Johnson agreed. Although he thought the Police Commissioner was negligent in not drafting a much larger force of police to the scene, he was "equally persuaded that due to the absence of a large number of policemen at 3:30 P. M., the avoidance of firing was impossible." Justice Johnson also discussed the underlying causes of the trouble, coming to conclusions that were expected to be utilized by the nationalists in support of their demands.

Recent articles in the Peking and Tientsin Times by its editor, H. G. W. Woodhead, who lectured at the Harris Institute in Chicago last Summer, indicated that large bodies of Protestant missionaries in China favored modification of treaties along the lines demanded by Chinese nationalists. Mr. Woodhead pointed out that Catholic missionaries had in general been non-committal on this subject, but that the foreign merchants as a whole stood for the status quo. He urged a greater assimilation of views by conferences of merchants and "that large group of Protestant missionaries who, to avoid interference with their work, will not openly disavow their more aggressive brethren, but who, nevertheless, feel very strongly that the unconditional surrender of their own (and the merchants') privileges would be a grave mistake, would be a setback to Western civilization and enterprise, and would prove harmful to the best interests of the Chinese themselves."

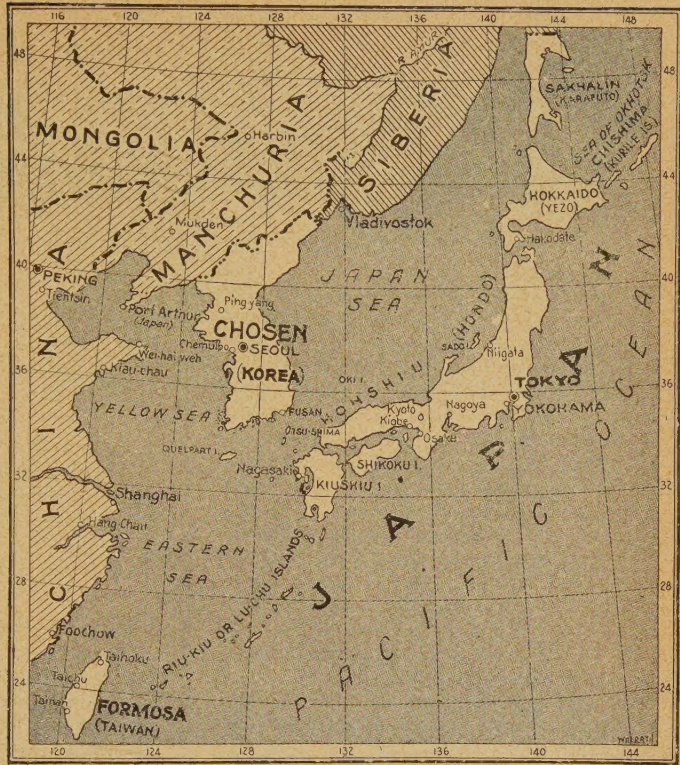
Japan

ON June 2 Viscount Kyoshiro Inouye became Minister of Railways in the Japanese Cabinet. His appointment marked an attempt of Premier Wakatsuki to strengthen his Cabinet before the Imperial Diet convened. Viscount Inouye is a prominent member of the ruling party in the House of Peers. Another change was the appointment of Dr. Kuratomi to the Presidency of the Privy Council. The choice aroused interest and wide satisfac-

tion because Dr. Kuratomi is essentially a commoner. This policy was entirely in keeping with the passing of the recent Universal Suffrage bill, which increases the electorate to fivefold its former size.

A proposed bill dealing with religion was criticized by Bishop Kogoro Uzaik as discriminating against Christianity and in favor of Buddhism and Shintoism. He asserted that, although the Christians numbered only 250,000, they were proportionately far more active than subscribers to other religions.

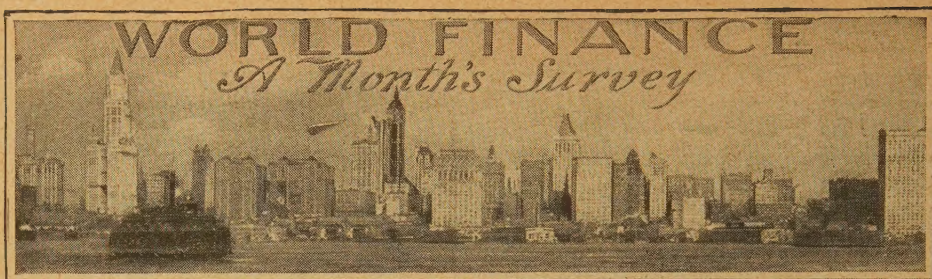
The tendency noted by some observers in China toward a rapprochement with Great Britain since those two nations were made the principal victims of Chinese ill-will following the Shanghai incident of a year ago was reflected in remarks recently made in Sydney, Australia, by Prince Tokugawa, son of the head of the Japanese delegation at the Washington Conference and scion of one of the most venerable families in Japan. He referred to the similarity in the position of the two island countries of England and Japan, which had always turned each toward the sea; to the dependence of each on sea-borne commerce; to the wide use of English in Japan, where it was the only compulsorily taught foreign language, and to the political and strategic requirements of the Far East, which had brought about political alliance in the past. "However," he added, "the important fact is that it was mutual interest and good feeling which created the friendly relations, and these in turn were responsible for the alliance and not vice versa. That is why Britain and Japan have remained closely united even after the alliance merged into the four-power pact concluded in Washington." In



Map of Japan

conclusion he referred to the geographical proximity of Japan and Australia, which, coupled with the common features of British and Japanese civilization, should lead to close cooperation between them.

Recent estimates of the Japanese Government Finance Department for 1923 and 1924 indicated that in the former year foreigners increased their investments in Japan by 41,000,000 yen and in the latter by 219,000,000, while in 1923 Japanese decreased their foreign holdings by 174,000,000 and in 1924 by only 8,000,000. Thus the excess of inflowing over outgoing capital was 215,000,000 in 1923 and 227,000,000 in 1924. Estimated reports of 1925 indicated 130,000,000 yen of imported capital. The official figures also showed a total income from abroad of 1,192,000,000 yen in 1924, as against 953,000,000 in 1923, and a total expenditure abroad of 407,000,000 yen in 1924, against 384,000,000 in 1923. In 1924 imports exceeded exports by 726,000,000 yen and in 1923 by 622,000,000.



BY FRANCIS H. SISSON, PROMINENT AMERICAN FINANCIER

THE approval of the debt agreement with France by the House of Representatives and fluctuations in foreign exchange held the centre of the financial stage during the last month. The pound sterling in May was quoted above par for the first time in nearly twelve years; the French franc reached the lowest price in its history; the Belgian franc sagged in sympathy with the French franc; the lira suddenly depreciated and as quickly recovered, to the discomfiture of speculators, while Spanish pesetas rose to the highest level in three years.

The sterling cable rate closed at \$4.86 7-8 on May 15, above par for the first time since Dec. 19, 1914, marking the culmination of years of effort by Great Britain to overcome the devastation caused by the World War. The settlement of the British general strike and the developments that followed were responsible for the buying of sterling which pushed the rate over par. With the industrial situation in Great Britain at least partly cleared up and indications pointing to increased business and financial activity, banks in the United States and other parts of the world built up their sterling balances; importers of British goods filled their requirements and large amounts of Continental funds were transferred to London for safekeeping in view of the depreciation of French, Belgian and other European currencies. While of considerable sentimental and historical importance, the crossing of par by sterling was not of great business significance, as it had been forecast for months, the last great barrier being removed when Great Britain returned to the gold standard in April, 1925. From that time onward sterling was only slightly below par. At the time of the resumption of gold payments, a total of \$300,000,000 of British credits was arranged in New York, \$200,000,000 with the Federal Reserve Bank and \$100,000,000 with J. P. Morgan & Co. These credits were arranged merely as a precautionary measure, and were not utilized, though their existence prevented speculative activities against sterling. The "peg," which had held the pound sterling at \$4.76, was removed in March, 1919, and this marked the beginning of the post-war period of violent reactions and rallies based on varying political developments, trade conditions, gold movements and speculations, which hitherto had been little known

in sterling. Before the war, in fact, if sterling moved a fraction of a cent in a day it attracted attention in the foreign exchange market. Sterling reached \$3.19, its lowest value in history, in February, 1920.

FRENCH FRANC SAGS

For the first time on record, the French franc was quoted below three cents in the New York foreign exchange market on May 17, when it sold for 2.98 3-4 cents. Subsequently, it sagged to 2.72 cents, but rallied to 3.29 1-2 cents by May 21, and was 3.30 1-4 cents on June 1.

MOVEMENT OF LIRA

Italian lire broke more than a quarter of a cent on May 13, when the Italian Government, which had been maintaining a stabilized rate for the lira, despite heavy bearish speculation in many parts of the world, withdrew its support. The lira sagged to 3.67 1-2 cents. By May 25, it had recovered more than eleven points, and on June 1 was quoted at 3.81 1-4 cents. The recuperation of the lira, according to a statement issued by the Commercial Attaché of the Italian Embassy in New York, was attained without any direct or indirect official intervention, and "represented mainly the work of shorts, who are busy covering so as to reduce their losses, which will be substantial." The Spanish peseta rose to 14.84 cents on May 26, the highest level since June, 1923. The primary reason was the surrender of Abd-el-Krim, the leader of the Riffian revolt.

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN CREDIT

A credit of \$20,000,000 was advanced to Czechoslovakia by a New York City bank, and, according to announcement on May 19, represented a continuation of financial operations that had been in progress for months. The credit, which might be expanded to \$30,000,000, will run a year from June 1.

OFFSET REICH STEEL BONUS

The United States Treasury Department issued an order on May 20 directing collectors of customs to hold up importations of German rolling mill products and to assess countervailing duties equal to the amount of bounty granted by German steel interests to the manufacturers of such prod-

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